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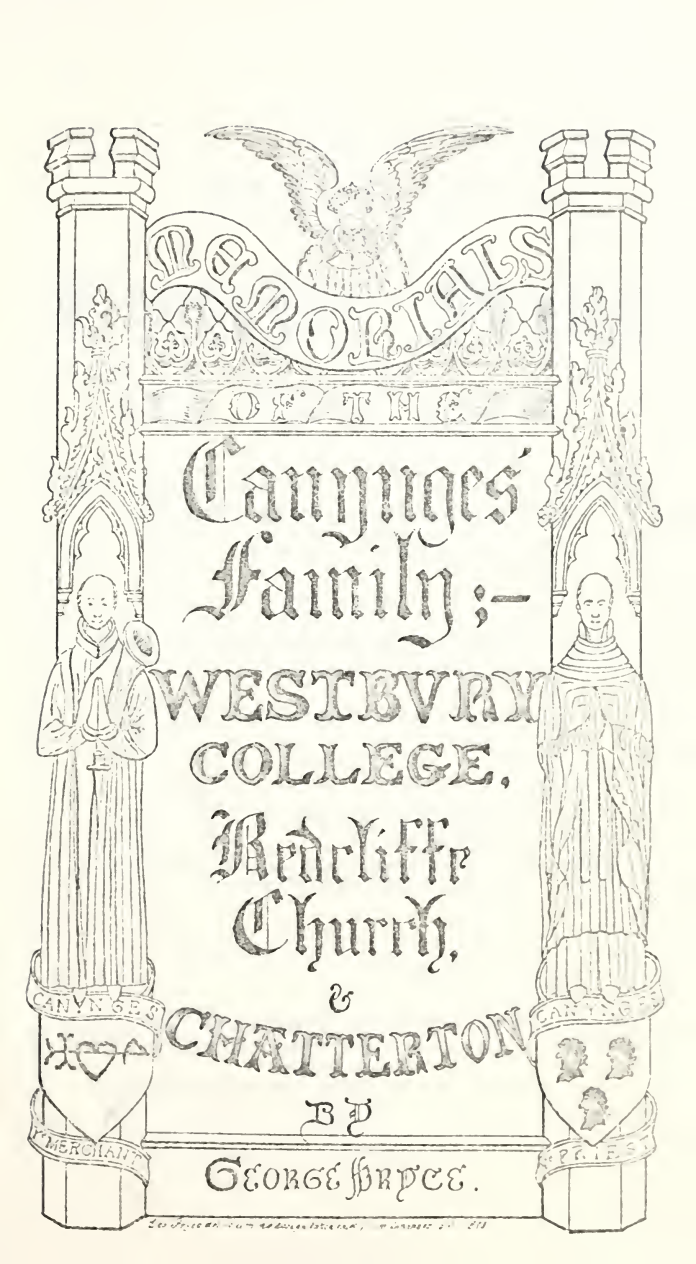
The Conynges' Family and their Times, Etc., Etc.

"Those who, in this essay, may expect to find statements made expressly to serve particular interests, whether local or individual, will be disappointed. The author hopes that he may be the means of 'doing the state some service,' but he has spoken of things *as they are*, neither disposed to 'extenuate aught, nor set down aught in malice.' I am of opinion that in the end 'corruption wins not more than common honesty.'"

REV. T. D. FOSBROKE, M.A. F.S.A.


MEMORIALS
OF THE
Canynges'
Family;—
WESTBURY
COLLEGE,
Redcliffe
Church,
&
CHATTERTON
BY
GEORGE PRICE.

MEMORIALS

OF THE

Canynges' Family

AND THEIR TIMES:

THEIR CLAIM TO BE REGARDED AS THE FOUNDERS AND RESTORERS OF WESTBURY COLLEGE AND REDCLIFFE CHURCH, CRITICALLY EXAMINED:

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

Inedited Memoranda relating to Chatterton;

WITH COLOURED ILLUSTRATIONS.

BY GEORGE PRYCE,

AUTHOR OF "NOTES ON THE ECCLESIASTICAL AND MONUMENTAL ARCHITECTURE AND SCULPTURE OF THE MIDDLE AGES IN BRISTOL," &c.

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TO

The Right Hon. Stratford Canning,

Lord Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe,

HER BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S
AMBASSADOR TO THE SUBLIME PORTE;
WHO FOR MANY YEARS, AND IN PERILOUS TIMES,
HAS MAINTAINED WITH FIRMNESS AND DIGNITY
THE INTERESTS OF GREAT BRITAIN, AND THE INTEGRITY OF THE
Turkish Empire—
AND WHO, ON HIS RECENT ELEVATION TO THE PEERAGE
BY THE WELL EARNED FAVOUR OF HIS
Sovereign,
WAS GUIDED IN HIS CHOICE OF A TITLE, BY HIS
ATTACHMENT TO THE MEMORY OF ANCESTORS
WHO WERE MERCHANT PRINCES OF BRISTOL,
AND MUNIFICENT FRIENDS TO THE CHURCH OF
St. Mary Redcliffe,
THIS WORK
IS MOST RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED. BY
His Lordship's
VERY HUMBLE AND OBEDIENT SERVANT,
THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

ENCOURAGED by the success which attended the publication of my "Note on the Ecclesiastical and Monumental Architecture and Sculpture of the Middle Ages in Bristol," and which since November 1850 has passed through two editions, I have again ventured to appear before the Public in the character of an Author.

The present Work suggested itself to my mind by the fact that we possess little authentic information respecting the Canynges' Family during the Middle Ages—a period in our History on which I more particularly delight to dwell. Scarcely any thing has been brought to light since the time of Barrett downwards; and even his Work is so full of fictions that little reliance can be placed upon its statements. Every succeeding writer too, without exception, has merely repeated in the main what that gentleman has recorded, leaving the reader bewildered in a maze of doubt and conjecture; and as uncertain as to the true history of the subject upon which he sought information, as though he had read nothing about it. The attempt now placed before the Public, to clear away the mists of error which have overshadowed the story of the Canynges' Family during the period named, will, it is hoped, be regarded with favour, as no available source of information known to me, has been left uninvestigated, and no document relating to the subjects embraced by this Volume, has escaped my scrutiny. Numerous manuscripts which appear to have eluded the research of previous authors, have been examined, and their contents are now, for the first time, placed before the Reader.

The connection between the subjects treated of in this Work will be at once apparent. To certain members of the Canynges' Family is ascribed the erection or restoration of Westbury College and Redcliff Church, which are therefore, so far, fitting "Memorials" of their past history; and the

name of Chatterton is intimately blended with that of the merchant prince of Bristol, who bore the family name in the fifteenth century. In "Mr. Canynges' cofre" that gifted genius announced to the astonished literati of the last century, that he discovered the poetic effusions of one Thomas Rowley, a particular friend of the rich merchant's, and who was a secular priest or monk, living in the reign of king Edward IV., but which few persons now doubt were the manufacture of the hapless youth himself. Many of these fictions were embodied by Mr. Barrett in his History of Bristol, and the "Storie of Canynges," and sundry epistles addressed to him by their talented author, leave apology for associating the name of Chatterton in a work relating to the Canynges' Family altogether unnecessary.

For any defects in the Design, Drawing, Colouring, and Tinting of the Illustrations contained in this Volume, I alone am answerable, the whole being the unassisted labour of my own hands, the printer only excepted: and for their numerous imperfections, I respectfully solicit whatever amount of indulgence the Reader may be pleased to extend towards the efforts of a self-taught Amateur, who is desirous of rendering his volume more acceptable by the introduction of pictorial representations of the subjects on which he treats.

For valuable assistance in this undertaking my special thanks are due to Daniel Burges, junior, Esq., Town Clerk, and Thomas Garrard, Esq., Treasurer, of the City of Bristol. Also to Sholto Vere Hare, William Henry Edwards, and Joseph W. Bunter, Esqrs., for the ready access afforded me by those Gentlemen to the records of the parishes of St. Mary Redcliffe and St. Thomas; by means of which the errors of previous writers have been corrected, and the present volume, it is believed, rendered valuable as an authority.

I beg likewise gratefully to acknowledge important aid received from the Rev. J. R., Wreford, D.D. F.S.A of this city; and Francis Walker Savage, Esq., of Springfield, Westbury-on-Trym.

Bristol, December 15*th*, 1853. GEORGE PRYCE.

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"Men's evil manners live in brass; their virtues
We write in water."————————————

SHAKESPEARE.

CHAPTER I.

CHAPTER I.

1.—Introduction. 2.—Scantiness of authentic records relating to the subject. 3.—The Canynges and Old Bristol. 4.—Their occupations. 5.—State of Society in the Middle Ages. 6.—General ignorance of all Classes of the people. 7.—Literature. 8.—Scarcity of Books. 9.—Learned Monks and Philosophy. 10.—Their influence upon the masses. 11.—Rise of heretical Sects, and of the Mendicants. 12.—General character of the latter. 13.—The Benedictines. 14.—Their useful employments. 15.—Their character. 16.—Estimate of Monachism. 17.—Its degeneracy. 18.—Attempts at reform. 19.—Increase of wealth in Monasteries and its consequences. 20.—Advantages of Monachism.

1. THE lives of eminent individuals who flourished during the Middle Ages, when divested of the adulatory accompaniments of interested monkish chroniclers, frequently present many striking instances of personal worth, and many traits of character deserving the regard of the men of subsequent times. The story of their passage through the chequered scenes of mortality may be brief, and the record of their doings among the sons of men may be limited to few particulars; yet that very brevity may convey instruction to the thoughtful, and some lesson of good may be gleaned even from the apparent trifles which make up the entire narration. Excellence, imitated in any case, elevates man in the scale of social being; and in

proportion as he copies the example of Worthies who have irradiated the pathway of our common humanity by the lustre of their virtues—will he himself shed a salutary influence around him, as he progresses towards the termination of his earthly sojourn.

2. Notwithstanding this lack of materials for a history of private worth and character, is in many instances, a subject of deep regret, yet a large amount of interesting information may be gathered from contemporaneous memorials, which will go far to elucidate facts in individual biography, and pour a ray of illumination upon the otherwise uncertain relation of the past. Much that has been handed down to us of the family under notice, rests its claim to credibility solely upon the ever inconclusive and suspicious testimony of Tradition; and in consequence, the legendary monument which it has been the business of those concerned to raise to an enduring individual fame, when submitted to the test of an impartial examination, is denuded of such portions of the attire in which it has been draped by panegyrizing admirers, and clothed in the more homely, but not less lovely, garb of sincerity and truth—the ample folds of which are nevertheless sufficient to apparel the comely portraiture in such appropriate and beautiful vestments as can alone render it an object of real attraction.

3. The pursuits of the Canynges in the Middle Ages were of a mixed character,—partaking both of commercial and religious life. Some of them embarked largely in mercantile speculations, and were foremost among the merchant princes of their time: others were ecclesiastics and officiated at the altars of the Church as her accredited ministers. In their day the monastic institutions of old Bristol, to which they were liberal benefactors, flourished in a vigorous, healthy, existence; and the grey followers of the meek, "seraphic" St. Francis, elbowed the black disciples of the fierce and gloomy St. Dominic; the thrifty Benedictine jostled the sober Augustinian, or the pensive, thoughtful Carmelite; and this "City of Churches," with its tapering spires and pinnacled towers, seemed the abode of Religion and the dwelling place of Piety. Then in their Guilds the cautious traders of their time assembled to protect the interests of their class; and, like a section of our people in more modern days, they sought the aggrandisement of self at the expense of the common weal. Then, too, her merchants congregated on 'Change or Tolsey—the busy haunts of commerce; trafficking with men of every clime; and here, too, the wealthy burgher of old Bristol welcomed monarchs to his festive board, and entertained the proudest princes in the land within his lordly but hospitable mansion.

4. As introductory to the main subject of this undertaking, I shall present the reader with a brief sketch of the state of Society during the Middle Ages, and notice such other matters both religious, political, and literary, as the nature of these Memorials seem to require,—the Canynges family having been for many generations, largely concerned in all that related to the interests of the Church, of which they were among its most obedient sons, extensively engaged in Commercial pursuits, and the liberal patrons of those monkish institution in our land, in which alone literature, such as it then was, had existence.

5. It is almost impossible for us, at this enlightened period, to realize, even in imagination, the state of thraldom to which our forefathers were subjected during the Middle Ages—a thraldom be it remembered, not merely physical, but intellectual, and that of the most degrading character. It were a small matter that in "the good old Catholic times" the Saxon serf and the Norman boor formed part and parcel of the property of his master, and might be given away, bequeathed, or sold along with the land he tilled—compared with the vassalage of the mind, the fettering of the intellect, and the debasing prostration of all that was mental at the shrine of an unbridled priestly despotism. Yet so uncultivated was every faculty of the human understanding in the times of which I

write, that even the noble was scarcely superior to his dependants in a manly dignified intelligence. Secure in his lofty castle-keep, his whole life was one of sensual inactivity, save only when engaged in the sports of the field, the pastimes of the tilt-yard, the pursuits of a romantic chivalry, or the excitements of war. The titled in those days were frequently as ignorant as the swine-herd who tended their droves, in the oak forests on their domain, or the slave who ministered to their pleasures.

6. Nor was this general ignorance, which it was the interest of the priesthood to perpetuate, confined to any particular district or country, for it overshadowed England as well as other lands. Not only the lordling and the boor, but many a priest was to be found who could neither underderstand the ordinary prayers of the Church, or translate Latin into the language of his own mother-tongue; and it was equally rare to find a layman, however exalted in rank, who could affix his signature to any document, whatever might be its import, otherwise than by making the sign of the Cross, as is done at the present day by those who have not had the advantage of instruction in the invaluable art of caligraphy.

7. One of the chief causes of this low state of knowledge among the people, was owing to the kind of literature, if it may be so designated, which prevailed among them; and which at the

time of the Norman Conquest, and for many subsequent ages, was confined exclusively to the vilest legends of saints, and a few vapoury chronicles, or rhymes, destitute both of spirit and measure; and it was a most extraordinary circumstance to meet with a man who had any tincture of learning beyond such puerile trash. Very little knowledge was to be found outside the pale of the Church, nor could the clergy themselves, as already intimated, boast of any great amount of illumination above the laity in matters which related to the improvement of the understanding,—in the cultivation of which they were as much wanting as were their uninstructed hearers. Ignorance sat like an incubus upon the spirits of both priests and people, and few indeed were the enlightened ones who soared in mind above their meaner brethren. Nothing can be more deplorable than to contemplate the low state of literature in the time which elapsed between the advent of the sixth, and the close of the eleventh centuries. Scarcely a glimmering of learning was apparent above the gloomy horizon which engirdled the mind of man at that dreary period; and it was not until its completion that the twilight of knowledge began to dispel the shades of spiritual despotism, by the rising of a clearer day, enlivened by the beams of an intellectual sun, whose setting is never to be witnessed; and the birth of an emancipated intelligence, whose

death is never to be recorded in the annals of Time.

8. This universal ignorance may be ascribed in a general way to the want of books, which were then extremely scarce, and could only be procured by the payment of a large sum of money; consequently the lower classes of society were entirely excluded from their possession. The kind of works too, which were transcribed by the monks were not at all adapted to inform the mind, most of them having relation either to the legendary tales of the times; to the canon law; or to metaphysical theology. Had it not been for such men as John of Salisbury, William of Malmesbury, Giraldus Cambrensis, Roger Hovenden, and Geoffrey Chaucer, among the learned monks of this country; with John Wycliffe, and others of the secular clergy, who appeared to shed a lustre on their day and generation, England would have remained shrouded like a corpse in the mental grave of the Middle Ages, the veriest tool of the Papacy, to be used at its pleasure for perpetuating the reign of priestcraft over the human intellect, instead of being as she now is,—first among the nations.

9. The use made of such books of antiquity as had come within the reach of the thinking monks of the twelfth century, both in polite literature as well as in abstruse metaphysical science, was considerable. The works of Euclid were well known

to Roger Bacon; and many learned and elaborated disquisitions in relation to such inquiries, emanated from the Mendicant Friars of the Middle Ages, many of whom were deeply learned in this difficult kind of knowledge. In the twelfth century the system of logic as taught by Aristotle was preferred to that of Augustine; this prepared the way for the introduction of his system of metaphysics, which soon followed; and the thirteenth century witnessed the triumphant reception of the philosophy of the learned Greek by the Church, as part of its orthodox system, through the influence of the astute and erudite Thomas Aquinas, who was the boast of the Dominicans, and the most distinguished metaphysician of the Middle Ages. In spite of the proscription of popes and councils, both of whom condemned this science as a great promoter of atheism, the Mendicants triumphed over the prejudices of the papacy, and established the Aristotelian philosophy upon a foundation of permanent endurance. The achievement of so great a conquest over the prejudices of Rome may be very properly ascribed chiefly to the enlightened and able man already named; for he silenced all opposers, and his authority alone was sufficient to establish the philosophy both of Aristotle and Augustine upon an equitable basis, which was afterwards regarded by the schoolmen as deserving their respect.

10. Notwithstanding the prevalence of so vast an amount of ignorance among the people generally, it cannot be doubted but that the studies of such men as those I have mentioned, had a favourable influence upon the minds of the masses, or at least upon the thinking portion of the community; although the extent of the advantages derived were only to disturb their hitherto abject submission to the absurd dogmas of the papacy, and lead them to question its infallibility, and its right to the submission men had been accustomed to yield to its demands upon the conscience. Opinions which were deemed heretical by the Church had existed amongst the laity within her communion in the tenth century, which even at that early period served to weaken the hold it had obtained upon the intelligent and thoughtful; and relaxed the power it had hitherto swayed over the public mind. Added to this, the insolent conduct of the Popes themselves, and their emissaries, excited a spirit of discontent among all classes of society; sowing thereby the seeds of a revolution in human thinkings which in after ages ripened into permanent active doings; shaking the popedom to its very centre, and annihilating for ever its power in Britain.

11. The two succeeding centuries witnessed the alienation of large numbers from communion with Rome, owing chiefly to the oppressive con-

duct of the clergy, whose vicious lives had given rise to the questioning among the people, to which allusion has been made. At this time these heretics seem to have first formed themselves into distinct companies or sects. Many ages had thus passed away after the establishment of the papacy before it sensibly felt the effects of the combinations raised against its assumptions; but now it put forth its power to crush the rising intelligence of the age, and to scatter the little bands of holy men who had dared to become separatists from the Church. To effect this, the Mendicant or Preaching Friars were called into existence, among whom the most remarkable were the Dominicans and the Franciscans; the former established by the authority of pope Honorius III. in 1216; and the latter in 1223. For a while these fraternities answered the purpose for which they were originated—that of supporting the interests of the Church against the exhortations of those who were opposed to the claims of the papacy to their unqualified obedience. In doing this, both Orders practised the most abominable arts in their attempts to deceive the people; contending, as it were, for a priority in wickedness and crime. Dominic, the founder of the brotherhood named after him, was an active and ferocious persecutor of the Albigenses, and the originator of that murderous weapon of papal power—the Inquisition.

The members of this infernal craft were dispatched by Pope Innocent III. immediately on his accession to the Pontifical chair in 1198, with full powers to punish all who continued to hold opinions adverse to the Church, and so to arrest the growing revolt of the people from her authority. To accomplish this, the fairest regions and most beautiful provinces of the Alps were desolated, and the victims of Romish tyranny were pursued with an amount of cruelty scarcely credible. Instead however, of quenching the torch of Divine truth which had been lit up among them, these proceedings served but to re-kindle a more ardent flame in the breasts of those who were driven from their mountain dwellings to testify through the length and breadth of Christendom, against the wrongs they had suffered at the hands of their tormentors; as well as to preach against the errors and superstitions of a corrupt faith. But if, as in some instances, the malignity of the persecutor "silenced the open avowal of dissent from the creeds and the pretensions of Rome, it sent to the utmost limits of Europe, men whose hearts burned with an unquenchable indignation against her falsehoods and her tyranny."

12. Besides the two Monastic Orders I have mentioned, and which were founded for the express purpose of staying the onward march of intelligent inquiry; many others were established

in the thirteenth century. In the first ages of their existence monastic institutions were merely superstitious; they subsequently "became eminently useful, and they ended in being eminently corrupt and wicked." Sismondi has well remarked that "the priests and monks incessantly employed themselves in despoiling the sick, the widowed, the fatherless, and indeed, all, whom age, or weakness, or misfortune placed within their grasp; while they squandered in debauchery and drunkenness, the money which they extorted by the most shameful artifices." *(Literature of Europe, vol.* I. *p.* 152.*)*

13. To correct the flagrant abuses which had crept into the Monasteries of the Mendicants, was the motive which influenced the great Benedict in establishing, with much perseverance, an improved discipline in these Religious Houses. "The substitution of these institutions for the religion of Christ, is the greatest monument of human genius, human wickedness, and human weakness, that was ever reared." This marvellous system—the system of monachism—was perfected by the Benedictines, and to this illustrious division or sect the world has been, and still is, more indebted for the benefits derived from their literary labours, than it ever was to the mightiest conqueror that has existed. True there was still much evil in the system, but writers when speaking of this part of the sub-

ject, have too frequently overlooked the better side of the question. From them went forth a band of men imbued with a spirit of learning and intelligence, which kept the nations of Christendom from sinking into absolute mental and moral darkness. Devoted to literature and the useful arts as well as to religion, these pious sectaries shone radiantly upon a benighted world, and preserved to our times the labours of the studious of earlier days, as well as handed down their own works to benefit after generations.

14. With this useful fraternity was associated every member of the Canynges' Family who took upon them the monastic vows; from which circumstance we may naturally infer that they were men of active but retiring and peaceful habits; for the Benedictines were pre-eminently a peace-loving brotherhood, compared with the monkish societies which had existed previous to their rise; and their Rule enjoined upon its professors such an alternation of repose and labour, of activity and rest, that it very soon became acceptable among the people; its departure from the rigid observances of the original fraternities tending greatly to its popularity. Instead of leading a life of indolence, amounting to absolute idleness, the followers of the reforming Benedict were enjoined a certain amount of daily occupation, and it was binding on the entire brotherhood, that some use-

ful and invigorating employment was absolutely necessary to their well-being. "It accorded with the spirit of Benedict's Rule, that the leisure of the regular brethren should be employed by the more pious in religious meditation; by the more thoughtful in theological or scholastic studies; that those whose inclination led them to more active literature, should compose books; that others should perform the humble, but not less useful task of copying them; and that the arts of architecture, sculpture, painting, and music, as connected with objects of religion should be cultivated in his convents. To the patient industry which was thus directed, we owe the preservation of most of the classics, and a large portion of history which would otherwise have been lost; and to the genius which was thus brought forth we are beholden for those cathedrals, which vie with the noblest monuments of the ancient world, if they do not indeed surpass them." To the Benedictines, modern civilization is indebted for the invention and preservation of much that is valuable in the useful and ornamental arts at the present day; and it is, perhaps, impossible to over-rate the advantages which the Middle Ages, as well as the men of later times, derived, and are still deriving from the labours of these peaceful pioneers in art and literature. "They brought improved implements of husbandry, reared stately dwellings, opened the

learned book before unlettered ages, and offered the means of reading it. Great were these gifts, but greater still the softening, elevating influences that went forth from these communities—the domestic utensils, the rich church ornaments, that brought before the rude dweller in the wastes, the refinements of a polished race; the sweet choral harmony that made the solitude vocal with the praise of God, and softened the hearts of savage men; the paintings, that told to the eye what the teacher might with difficulty have explained to the ear, and which, despite of their imperfect drawing, display that pure, unworldly sentiment, which in later times was ill exchanged for the learning of schools, and the competition of academies. Above all, the protection, and the better education given to women, in these early communities, the respect in which they were held, the introduction of their beautiful and saintly effigies, into the decoration of places of worship, and books of devotion, and which, perhaps, did more for the general cause of womanhood, than all the boasted institutions of chivalry." *(British Quarterly Review, vol.* xii. *p.* 478.*)*

15. Although the preceding gratulatory observations are laudatory of the Benedictines, the reader is not to imagine that I am an apologist for such institutions. It is true that no set of Middle Age religionists have a better claim to the gratitude

of modern times; for in painting they were emphatically the artists of their day; they excelled pre-eminently as workers in metal, stone, and wood; and they continued for many generations to supply the wants of the people as their educators. They were too, the liberal encouragers of art,—"whether by enlarging and beautifying, in some cases almost rebuilding, their splendid churches, and then adorning them with sculptured imagery, with brilliant paintings, with shrines of goldsmith's work, which the present day can scarcely equal, or with gorgeous altar plate and lovely church-service books." Yet these beautiful works were compartively useless in teaching the people; and the masses were still left in ignorance of the great truths the emblems before them were designed to symbolize. The Benedictines were of too conservative a character to go forth to instruct; hence the school only, and that beneath the roof of the convent, was the place in which they gave their lessons of morality and religion. To these seminaries all classes of the people were welcome, but the kind of learning obtained was better fitted for the cloister, than for the ever recurring duties of ordinary life.

16. In forming an estimate of the monachism of the Middle Ages, it is my wish to deal fairly with the subject, and to refer the reader to every advantageous point which its history presents.

But in doing this I cannot close my eyes to the evils with which the system was pregnant, nor to the injurious effects it had upon the common weal in the later days of its existence in this country. The monachism of St. Benedict was eminently useful, and deserved well of its patrons; for it exercised a powerful influence over the masses of the people, and controlled into a healthy submission the eccentricities inherent to our nature. No longer regulated by a well directed philanthropy, the "Religious" of an earlier age, under the direction of fanatical pretenders to holiness, and the misguided zeal of maniacal ensamples of secluded piety, had degenerated into the merest automatons, uninfluenced by the wants of the many, and intent only on the observance of vain and frivolous ceremonies, which could never profit those who performed them, either in this world or in a future. Like stagnant waters they spread their pestiferous exhalations over the fair landscape; producing a moral devastation unequalled for its deadly influence and its injurious effects upon the freedom and intelligence of mankind. The practice of every art that could debase humanity, was that in which the priesthood then delighted, so that by following their own wicked and corrupt inclinations, instead of following their flocks, they had become odious to all classes of the community.

17. Although habits of industry were inculcated among the early followers of St. Benedict, we are not to suppose that in the days of their degeneracy they were equally given to toil; for we find that as corruption increased, a spirit of indifference and habits of idleness were infused among them, like alloy into pure metal—the drones in the fraternity lived with the working bees in a state of indolence and inactivity; giving themselves up to the vain and shadowy pursuits of the world, or the more guilty pleasures of the table, and the excesses of a profligate immorality. As the riches of these institutions increased through the mistaken piety of the benevolent, considerable numbers of persons entered these peaceful abodes, and became monks for the purpose of spending their future days in sloth, free from the claims of ordinary life, and the demands of our common relationship upon their energies. The performance of the duties of the cloister with a seemly gravity; an observance of the requirements of their respective stations with some show of decency; and a somewhat orderly discharge of the obligations of their profession; was all that multitudes of these religionists made any pretensions to: and when they were gathered to their fathers, no useful memorial of their past existence was left to posterity; for they had lived in vain, and raised no monument of their genius to be regarded with respect by after ages.

18. Several attempts were made to reform the abuses which had crept into the institutions of monachism in the Middle Ages, but with little ultimate success; for although numberless ardent minds arose among the Benedictines, their efforts appear to have been comparatively feeble and ill directed; most of them requiring the observance of the austerities of primitive institutes, which were distasteful to the professors of the system of monkery in the days of its degeneracy. Numerous revolts among the "Religious" resulted from this strict regard to the requirements of the Rule to which the superiors of Convents sought to subject their refractory brethren; and many an abbot was displaced by the fraternity over which he presided, because he desired to introduce a wholesome reform in these institutions. Although for a time some of these attempts were successful, yet they soon lost their hold upon the monastic mind, and the men of another generation witnessed a return to all the abuses which had formerly prevailed, and which now resulted in a looseness of morals and observances more than ever relaxed and pernicious.

19. Monachism as reformed by Benedict, was made to rely on the resources of industry for its subsistence, rather than on the bequests of the benevolent; for in his day it could boast of no such aid in its establishment. No sooner, however, had its Rule obtained permanence than

wealthy nobles conferred upon the new institutions vast estates in land and bequests in money, which should have gone to enrich their own families—the tiller of the soil, who always descended to a new possessor with the estate, accompanying the former donation. Numbers of serfs also, following the usages of the times, were devoted to the service of the monastic institutions of the country, either from choice or compulsion; so that the monks themselves were relieved from the necessity of toiling for a maintenance, and gradually sunk into a condition of supineness—indifferent alike to the observance of their religious vows, or the welfare of the community to which they belonged. This departing from primitive habits and obligations continued to increase until the dissolution of Religious Houses in the sixteenth century. The knavery of the times aided the superstitious follies of the age, in the perpetration of impositions upon the credulity of mankind, which for grossness is without a parallel. Growing bold by the success of their frauds and forgeries in the manufacture of miracles and lying wonders; the coining of relics and legendary tales, stamped with most flagrant deception and the most profligate abandonment of truth—their utility became a matter of question; and an inquiry was instituted into the mode of life in which they indulged. This fully corroborating the reports which had reached the royal ear, the

downfall of all the monastic institutions in England was resolved on—a resolve which was carried into effect by the haughty monarch who then occupied the throne; and which will ever remain in the memory of succeeding generations of men to the latest posterity, as one of the most beneficial of human achievements.

20. Even in this flagitious age there was some good connected with monachism; for although a vast amount of criminality attaches itself to the institution in these last days of its existence, there were, happily, some exceptions to the general wickedness of the professors of monkery. In the monastery the younger branches of noble families were provided for; not as in our day, when they find an asylum in the church, the army, or the navy,—but in the cloistered institutions of our land, where with a brotherhood of a different kind, the weary wheels of life bare them heavily along until they departed to another state of being. "The Monastery," says a modern writer, "was a home for the studious, a refuge for the weak, and an asylum for the unhappy. Queens when divorced or widowed, and princesses for whom there was no establishment, could retire there with dignity and with comfort. Kings who in possession of worldly power had learned the late lesson that all is vanity or who were stricken with compunction for their crimes, retired to the convent to pass the remainder

of their days, the one in peace, the other in penitence. Even ambition was rendered less inhuman by these institutions: the searing irons were disused, and the usurper or the successful rival contented himself with compelling his victim to receive the tonsure, and take those vows by which he became dead to the world. Here were to be found statesmen who were capable of directing the affairs of princes, and missionaries to go among the fierce heathens by whom the Roman empire was subverted, ready to act their part well, as martyrs if they failed, or as politicians if their efforts were successful. Here, and here only, were the schools of education:—the discipline indeed was severe and even cruel, and the instruction was barbarous; still this education, such as it was, saved the world from total ignorance. The light of knowledge was kept burning, not like the fabled lamps of the sepulchre, to be extinguished when daylight and free air were admitted,—it was carefully trimmed and preserved for happier generations: and were the present age divested of all that it owes to the patient and humble labour of the Benedictines, we should be poor indeed."

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——————— "Where lift the rocks
Their brows stupendous o'er the broadening stream,
The seaman's shout is heard, and Commerce waves
In every gale her many-colour'd flag.

N. T. CARRINGTON.

Chapter II.

CHAPTER II.

1.—Origin of the Canynges' Family, Simon de Kanynges. 2.—John de Canynges. 3.4.—Robert Canynges, a fictitious person. 5.—Importance of Bristol as a trading port. 6.—Wool the chief article of Commerce. 7.—King Edward III. invites clothworkers into England. 8.—Their settlement in Bristol. 9.—Their supposed earlier introduction. 10.—More arrivals and the result. 11.—English merchants become affluent. 12.—Thomas Blanket and other manufacturers of cloth; precept from the King in their favour. 13.—Blankets and other coarse cloths first made. 14.—Complaint of the Bath clothiers. 15.—The Blanket Family noticed. 16.—Pedigree, Table 1. and, 17.—William Canynges, senior. 18.—His will, death, and character. 19.—Extent of his trade. 20.—John Stokes and his chantry. 21—Wealth of Bristol merchants at this time. 22.—The second Robert Canynges. 23.—Jeffrey Canynges. 24.—John Canynges, an opulent merchant. 25.—His will. 26.—His widow marries Thomas Young; their family. 27.—Joan and Simon Canynges; will of the latter.

1. It was intimated in the preceding chapter, that all those members of the Canynges' Family who were connected with the Church as ecclesiastics, were Benedictines, but from whom they deduced their descent is matter of much uncertainty. It has been conjectured, although the orthography of the name differs greatly at various periods, that it was derived from Bishop's Canning, a village in Wiltshire—a fact not improbable, as the surnames of families in the Middle Ages were generally taken from their place of abode. The

earliest record of the name that I have met with is found, however, in Hampshire, where Simon de Kanynges was located in the thirteenth century; but this does not argue against the family having obtained its distinctive appellation from the place I have mentioned; for it is an ascertained fact that it was so designated in the fourteenth century, and it is still to be found scattered over the face of the county in which the village spoken of is situated, to the present day. (Appendix A) This Simon de Kanynges was elected Abbot of Hyde, near Winchester, then a monastery subject to the Rule of St. Benedict; the monks belonging to which had been introduced from Abingdon on the expulsion of the previous occupants for contumacy. King Edward I. assented to the choice of the mmates, and confirmed the elevation of Simon de Kanynges July 26th, 1292; and on the 12th day of the following month the temporalities of the Abbey were delivered to him. (Dugdale.)

2. We next find the name occurring in connection with the county of Berks, John de Canynges, who had been prior of the monastery at Abingdon being raised to the dignity of Abbot in that institution. To this election King Edward II. gave his approval May 1st, 1322, and restored the temporalities of the House, which had reverted to him during the vacancy occasioned by the death

of the preceding superior of the Convent, on the 23rd of the ensuing month. "In his time," says Dugdale, "A.D. 1327, the Abbey is said to have been destroyed by unruly persons of Oxford and Abingdon; for which fact twelve of them were hanged, and sixty more condemned. John de Canynges died in 1328."

3. I have ascertained no further mention of this family until its establishment in Bristol, but at what period is uncertain. The first time the name is found in its civic annals is in the year 1361, when William Canynges, (who is usually designated "senior," to distinguish him from his more celebrated grandson of the same name) served the office of Bailiff; and again in 1369. In 1372, 1373, 1375, 1381, 1385, and 1389, he filled the civic chair as chief magistrate; having also in 1364, 1383, and for the third time in 1384, been elected member of parliament by his fellow townsmen. No documents exist to inform us of his ancestry, yet Barrett, copying the fabricated effusions of Rowley under the year 1322, makes one Robert, who is there designated the "morning star of Redcliffe's rising ray," to be the father of this first William Canynges. "Robert is said to have been a great mercantile genius, eagerly intent upon commerce and pursuit of riches, which laid the foundation of the greatness of the family here afterwards." (History of Bristol, p. 629.) Mr. Dallaway, who

has adopted this statement, merely adds that he was "of Touker's street in Bristol." No notice of this individual occurs in any document that I have seen, nor do I find him named in any way, before the time of Barrett, who, at the page already referred to, admits, "that no original deeds hitherto found mention the family names beyond William in the year 1368 bailiff of Bristol," (this is an error as he served that office in 1361—seven years earlier,) so that there is no name of Robert, 1322, called the 'morning star of Redcliffe's rising ray, &c.' in the poems ascribed to Rowley. "But there is no reason," continues Barrett, "for disbelieving the existence of such a man, who through a defect of records is taken little notice of; but the particulars so many and various of his life given us in the manuscript of Rowley leave little room for doubt. There might have been a Robert, as well as a Symon and Jeffery both which names occur but once."—The same credulous writer quotes (p. 430) "The Rolle of Seyncte Bartholemeweis Priorie" which speaks of "the botte lyke that of Westeburie ybuylden by Mastre *Roberte* Canynges;" and furnishes a "curious account" of the church of St. Mary-le-port in this city, in which also the name of this Robert Canynges is found in connection with that building. The amount of credence attached to such documents is trifling indeed when Barrett tells us that they were

"given by Chatterton, as transcribed by him from Rowley." The latter relates that "Ynne M.C.C.C, ytte (the church) was repayred bie Roberte Canynge of the house of Wyllyam Canynge. Before the daies of Roberte Canynge, greete syre of Wyllyam Canynge, greete barkes (ships) dydde ryde before Corporatyonne streete, butte Mastre Roberte haveynge twoe of large howsen in Radclefte and workehowses meinte wilieile drewe the trade to the oder syde of the brugge (bridge) toe the greete annoie of Seyncte Marie of the Porte, the honowre of Seyncte Marie Redclefte, the enlargemente of thatte syde, and the honowre and dygneness of hys owne familie. From him dyd the glorie of the Canynges ryse; Mr. Wyllyam Canynge having his pycture, whereyn ys he commandeynge houses to ryse from the moddie banks of ryver. He repaired as aboove yn atone for forwyninge the trade, and was there imburyed undoore a stone full fayre of whomme dydde I thus wryte, whyche graven onne brass and wylle eftsoones bee putte on hys stone!

Thys Morneynge Starre of Radcleves rysynge raie,
A true man, goode of minde, and Canynge hyghte
Beneathe thys stone lies moltrynge ynto claie,
Untylle the darke tombe sheen an aeterne lyghte.
Thyrde from hys loyns the presente Canynge came;
Houten are anie wordes to telle his doe,
For aie, shall lyve hys heaven recorded name,
Ne shalle ytte die whanne tyme shall be ne moe.

When Mychaels trompe shall sounde to rize the soulle
He'lle wynge toe heaven with kynne and happie be their dole"

4 It will be observed in this account of Robert Canynges, that the writer has committed an error in saying, "Thyrde from his loynes the presente Canynge came;" meaning that the second William Canynges, who is said to have been contemporary with Rowley, the presumed author of this epitaph, was grandson of Robert; instead of which he was farther removed by a generation. The whole story of this personage is undoubtedly a fable of which Chatterton, and not Rowley was the author. Barrett, with his usual eagerness to clutch the marvellous, has published the inventions of the hapless boy as a verity; and thoughtlessly given to the world, through the medium of his history, the fabrications of the unfortunate youth without apparently attempting to ascertain whether founded upon fact or fiction.

5. Bristol, when Robert Canynges is said to have lived was a place of considerable importance as a trading port, which the commercial habits of the people tended greatly to augment and encourage. It was so even at a much earlier period, and in the turbulent reign of king Stephen it was "one of the richest cities in England, receiving merchandize from neighbouring and foreign places;" and "the most famous place of commerce in England next to London, frequented by merchants of many

nations." Among others that are mentioned we find the names of Genoa, Spain, France, Flanders, and Norway: in addition to other places with which they traded, the merchants of Bristol also "sailed twice a year to Newfoundland a fishing."

6. This miscellaneous trafficking with the other maritime states of Europe, continued to increase during the several reigns that intervened between those of Stephen and Edward III, wool, with grain and tin, forming the chief articles of commerce. To the first named production the traders of old Bristol early directed their attention, and it ultimately became a source of much profit to them, being the great staple commodity which our forefathers exported either raw or manufactured. Proving a medium of affluence to the mercantile part of the community, the ennobled families of the land became so jealous of the rising greatness of their burgher brethren, that, possessing as they did the largest share of power in parliament, such as it then was, they enacted a most remarkable law at their meeting at Oxford in 1261, prohibiting both the export of wool in its raw state or manufactured into cloth. This premature act of selfish policy on the part of the barons does not seem, however, to have been carried out; and although various other prohibitions of a similar kind were passed, either to exclude foreigners working for us in this material out of England, or to confine the

labour of our own artisans as well as the article itself to the English people, by both the two first Edwards, yet these arbitrary measures failed of their effect, and a wiser policy dictated a more liberal course of action. Although somewhat crippled by these inglorious enactments, the commerce of the country was soon destined to be relieved from such injurious interference on the part of these legislating barons, by the free-trade measures of the wise and enlightened King Edward III.

7. This monarch who may be styled the father of English commerce, invited the cloth workers of Flanders to settle in England, and take up their permanent abode among his people, whom he wished to be instructed in the art of manufacturing this necessary article—English wool being at that time superior to that of most other countries, and the Flemish people the most skilful workmen in its manufacture into fabrics of utility as well as ornament. This policy, so opposite to that pursued by the barons in the preceding reigns, may be said to have originated with Edward's queen, the good Philippa, who was herself a native of Flanders, and a daughter of the Earl of Hainault. The prohibitory acts of his predecessors seem to have had the effect of awakening Edward to the importance of this branch of commerce to the English people, by witnessing the result of the pernicious and des-

tructive system adopted by a section of the legislature to the injury of their more enterprising but less powerful brethren. Fuller says, (Church History, p. 110,) "The King and state began now to grow sensible of the great gain the Netherlands got by our English wooll, in memory whereof the Duke of Burgundy, not long after, instituted the order of the Golden Fleece, wherein indeed the fleece was our's the golden their's, so vast their emolument by the trade of clothing. Our King (Edward III.) therefore resolved, if possible, to reduce the trade to his own country, who as yet were ignorant of that art, as knowing no more what to do with their wooll than the sheep that weare it, as to any artificial and curious drapery, their best clothes then being no better than friezes, such their coarseness for want of skill in their making. But soon after followed a great alteration, and we shall enlarge ourselves in the manner thereof." He then proceeds to inform his readers that "unsuspected emissaries were employed by our King, who wrought themselves into familiarity with such Dutchmen as were absolute masters of their trade, but not masters of themselves, as either journeymen or apprentices;" and these being persuaded "came over to England, (and) with themselves they brought over their trade and their tools, namely, such which could not (as yet) be so conveniently made in England."

8. On their arrival in this country, these foreigners were quickly dispersed over the kingdom, some being settled in Bristol, greatly to its advantage. "And now," says Fuller, "was the English wooll improved to the highest profit, passing through so many hands, every one having a fleece of the fleece, *sorters, kembers, carders, spinsters, weavers, fullers, diers, pressers, packers;* and these manufactures have been heightened to a higher perfection since the cruelty of the Duke of Alva drove over more Dutch into England."

9. It is generally believed, however, that the Flemings were not first introduced into this country at the time above stated, but that a number of them had settled at Worsted, in Norfolk, as early as the reign of Henry II., and that the name of this village is derived from their manufacture, which in the reign of Edward III. had attractions even for royalty. In the Wardrobe accounts of that monarch "twelve Standards of *worsted* and two Pennoncels," are mentioned, "each bearing the King's arms quarterly, within a Garter;" which appear to have been made "for Saint George's day, and for the Chapel at Windsor." (Archæologia, vol. xxxi. p. 128.) It is also certain that several guilds of Weavers were established in England in the first mentioned reign, and it is highly probable they were the earliest incorporated fraternities of which we have any account.

10. The establishment of the Woollen manufacture in England under the fostering care of Edward III., occurred in the year 1331, and at a time when the discontents of the Flemings, owing to a spirit of monopoly which excluded numbers of artizans from their corporate bodies, operated, in conjunction with the persuasive eloquence of the secret agents of the King, as an additional inducement to numbers of these skilful men to leave their father-land and settle in that of the stranger. At this juncture the manufacture of cloths which had been practised by the English with some success in the reigns of Henry II. and Richard I., appears to have been entirely lost, and this country was wholly supplied with that article by foreigners —the Flemings having the preference. The cloth made by that people was manufactured chiefly from English wool, which was so valuable that it had a currency as money; and on their accepting the liberality of the English monarch, they introduced into his dominions the manufacture of the finer sorts of woollen cloths, a branch of trade wholly unknown before in this country. We find mention made for more than a century afterwards of the fresh arrivals at intervals, of Flemish weavers in England, and their reigning monarch had considerable trouble to protect them from the persecution of the incorporate guilds or fraternities, who were governed by that narrow minded and

selfish policy, which ever actuates such communities.

11. From the reign of Edward III. then, we may date the commencement of our commercial prosperity; for then the profession of a Merchant became an honourable one, and notwithstanding the jealousy which existed in the minds of the barons against traders, those who were occupied as such, soon rose to be a rich and powerful race of men; ere long to be placed on a level with the landed proprietors of the kingdom. The prejudicial influence which a dislike of the English to foreigners, the operation of which had hitherto shackled the energies of trade, had passed away; and the restrictions attempted to be placed upon the commercial tendencies of the age, were superseded by the liberalism of a patriotic monarch, who in advancing his own interest by an impost upon wool, which formed a great part of his revenue, sought also the prosperity of his people by encouraging its manufacture as a means of improving the condition of those over whom he ruled. Thus the merchants of that age, no longer the insignificant dealers of earlier times, formed an opulent and influential middle class, which soon began to take a position in the legislature of the nation, before unknown. By the extent of their speculations and the largeness of the profits they realized, immense wealth accrued to these enterprising individuals, and the riches acquired by the merchants

of Bristol, could be placed in competition with the gains of those of any other place in Britain.

12. The encouragement thus given to the Woollen trade was specially advantageous to the merchants of Bristol, in the fourteenth century, who seem to have early embraced this new avenue to wealth, in the employment of the Flemings in their peculiar manufacture. Among the first of those who thus availed themselves of the advantages held out to them was Thomas Blanket, who in 1340, with other inhabitants, set up looms in his own house. For so doing a rate was levied upon them by the town authorities as a tax upon these machines, from which however, their owners were relieved by a precept from the king addressed to the Mayor and Bailiffs setting forth that, "Whereas lately, with the assent of the prelates, earls, barons, and others being at our parliament then assembled at Westminster, it was ordained and agreed, that wool should be made into cloths within our kingdom, and that all those who were willing to make and work cloths of this kind, should be enabled to make them in all places of the kingdom without any kind of hindrance; and whereas now we have heard on the part of Thomas Blanket and others, burgesses of the said town (of Bristol,) that whereas they by favour of the aforesaid agreement and ordinance and of a proclamation made thereupon on our part (as it is said) have caused various machines

for weaving and making cloths of this sort to be made in their own houses, and having hired weavers and other workmen for this purpose: but that you, not considering the premises, exact divers sums of money from the said Thomas and the others, on account of the making and setting up the aforesaid machines, and that you trouble and aggrieve them in various ways on that account, unjustly, as they assert, to the no small expense of Thomas and the others, and contrary to the ordinance, agreement, and proclamation aforesaid; whereupon they have petitioned us that a suitable remedy in this respect may be provided for them by us; We considering that the said ordinance, agreement, and proclamation, if they should be holden and observed in our kingdom, may turn out to the great advantage of us and of all the people of our kingdom, and being willing that the said Thomas and the others who have chosen to work and make cloths of this sort, and also the workmen, should be protected and defended from injuries and improper exactions on that account, Order you, that you permit the said Thomas and the others who are willing to make cloths of this kind, to cause machines to be erected in their own houses, at their choice for the weaving and making cloths of this kind, and to have and hold those workmen in the same place, without making on that account any hindrance, or reproach or un-

due exaction: not molesting or aggrieving them in any respect contrary to the form of the aforesaid ordinance, agreement, and proclamation. Provided always, that the Customs and other profits due to us from such cloths, if there be any, shall be paid to our use, as is proper. Witness the Regent (Custode) of England at Langele, xxv day of Nov." From this time the cloth trade flourished greatly in Bristol, especially in the parishes of Temple and St. Thomas; "it was the favourite employment, and a principal source of wealth. One of our streets is called Tucker street, (a corruption of Touker street,) and no reason can be assigned for the name, but that it was wholly inhabited by tuckers or fullers: a large open space in two different parts of the town is called *the Rack-ay;* and a part of High street was called *the Drapery;* and many sums of money were formerly bequeathed to the Corporation of the city, for the purpose of being lent to young clothiers free of interest." *(Seyer, vol.* 2, *p.* 139. 140.*)*

13. The peculiar kinds of cloth made by these early workers in wool were of the coarser sorts, particularly a fabric in domestic use at this day, and which it is believed was named after its first maker Thomas Blanket. By degrees cloths of a more refined and costly description were introduced, and a rage for new fashions created a corresponding demand for a finer article, and

richer patterns; various colours were also in request, and a peculiar kind of red, denominated, from the place of its invention, "Bristol red," was an especial favourite at this time. "Even so late as the time of Henry VIII., the poet Skelton describing a gay dress, says *her Kyrtle was of Bristowe red.* This trade however has wholly quitted Bristol time out of mind; and from hence it probably retreated to the hill-country of Gloucestershire, where amid rural scenes of singular beauty, by a number of opulent and liberal manufacturers it is still carried on extensively and successfully." *(Seyer, vol. 2, p. 140.)*

14. In the year 1356, the king, by letters dated at Westminster, June 8th, required the attendance, among other Bristol merchants, of Thomas Blanket, "to consult with the merchants of England on certain affairs which much concerned the interests of the realm;" but the particular subject for their consideration does not appear; it had however without doubt relation to the cloth trade. Twenty years later we find the Bath clothiers complaining to the king that the "Maire and Commonalty of Bristuit (Bristol) had set up at Bristuit," a market for cloth to be held at the same time as that at Bath, with other grievances which also they mentioned. "They therefore pray the King and Parliament as a work of charity, that they would redress this evil practice and order that

every man may come to the market at Bathe, and sell his goods without loss or hindrance; considering that the said city is much impoverished, and the country around much injured by this ill practice." In the same year another complaint was preferred that woollen yarn was exported to Normandy and Lombardy to the detriment of the king, who thereby lost his custom on the cloth and wool; which ended in an order from the monarch that woollen yarn should not be suffered to go out of the kingdom.

15. A family of the name of Blanket was early seated at a place in the parish of Claines, Worcestershire, from them called "The Blankets." Robert Blanket, who held of Giffard, Bishop of Worcester, half a hide of land in Northwick, in that county, in the reign of Edward I.,—was descended from Osbert Blanket, who had previously held half a hide near Bereburn, also in the same county. Subsequently Beatrix Blanket held the land in Northwick. "The Blankets'" property, which was afterwards held by Humphrey Frere, is likewise said to have been "once the land of Agnes Blanket." The name first occurs in connection with Bristol in the year 1340, when Thomas Blanket was bailiff; his brother Edmund performed the same duties in 1349; and was member of Parliament for the town in 1369; to which dignity a third brother, Edward, who was

the oldest of the three, had been elected in 1362. The trio seem to have been extensively engaged in the manufacture of coarse woollen cloths, for which at that time, as we have seen, Bristol was much celebrated; but to Thomas, the youngest of the three, the introduction of the article of bedding called after the family name, is probably due. The cloths made by the brothers, although of the coarser sorts, were sold by them in large quantities to be made into garments for the peasantry, who, until their time had worn only coarse cloths made from hemp. Blankets soon came to be used by sportsmen, soldiers, and travellers, in lieu of the loose mantle and puckered cloak and cape, which as well as the long loose robe or gown were inconvenient; the former could be readily thrown across the shoulders, or used to wrap about the wearer in cold or wet weather; and Edward I. found them very useful to his army when encamped against the Welsh and Scots. When stump bedsteads came into use among the wealthy, about the reign of Edward III., before which time they had slept on rushes, straw, or fern laid upon the floor, blankets, soon afterwards manufactured, came to be part of their necessary furniture; and repeated mention is made of them in the "Expenses of the Great Wardrobe of Edward III. from 29th Sept. 1347, to 31st Jan. 1349." *(See Archæologia, vol.* xxxi.*)*

16. Pedigree of the Canynges' Family.

Table I.

William Canynges said to be son of Robert Canynges of Touker street. *(See Barrett and Dallaway.)* = Agnes, daughter of John Stokes.

- 1. John Canynges. Will dated March 13th, 1405.
- Joan Wotton. 2d. husband Thomas Young.
- 2. Simon Canynges married Margaret... ..... and had a son name Thomas. He died in 1413.
- Joan married to John Milton, Mayor of Bristol, 1433.

- 1. John, died an infant.
- 2. Thomas Canynges, Lord Mayor of London. *See Table* II.
- 3. William Canynges. Will dated Nov. 1474.
- Joanna died 1460.
- 1. Agnes. 2. Julian. 3. Margaret.

- 1. William Canynges died before his father.
- = Isabel, or Elizabeth Vowel of Wells. 2d. husband John Depedene.
- 2. John Canynges, died before his father.
- = Elizabeth.

- 1. Thomas Canynges of Wells.
- 2. William, 3. Agnes, died infants.
- Isabel died an infant.

17. Contemporary with Thomas Blanket the cloth-worker, was the first William Canynges, of whom a brief mention has already been made at page 39. Both appear to have been makers of the same kind of article—a coarse sort of cloth designated drugget, and that also to which Blanket's own name had been already applied. Canynges settled in Touker street, and he is the first of the family in Bristol of whom we have any certain information. Here he was engaged extensively in the woollen trade, and by which he must have realized an ample fortune; for at his death he seems to have bequeathed valuable property to his relatives, leaving his sons to succeed him in

the business in which he appears himself to have been so eminently successful. The woollen trade was undoubtedly the great source of wealth to this subsequently opulent family; and it evidently laid the foundation of all its future eminence—elevating the various members of it to a position among the merchant princes of Bristol which rendered the name of Canynges famous throughout commercial Europe. Both its founder and his descendants were allied with all the mercantile magnates of their time, in establishing an undying fame for a spirit of enterprise of an enlarged and generous rivalry, which eclipsed all the imaginings of the most adventurous of previous traders to the old port, with the weal of which their interest was closely connected.

18. No particulars of the birth of this first William Canynges, or of his subsequent life and character have been preserved to our day, and we are therefore left to fill up the vacuum thus formed by the silence of contemporary biographers as best we may. That he was a notable personage in the times in which he flourished, we have sufficient evidence, as already shewn, in the fact of his having been called on six different occasions to preside over his fellow townsmen as their chief magistrate. As such in 1376, 50 Edward III. he witnessed, with Walter Frampton, Walter Derby, Thomas Beaupeigne, John Hakeston, and others,

a deed which conveyed a tenement in Redcliffe street from William Sutton to Adam Stable, which appears by the document itself preserved in the church of St. Thomas; and is the only writing relating to any transaction in which he was concerned, I have been able to discover. He was a man too of unsullied reputation, which fact may be gathered from his representing the town repeatedly in the parliament of his country: and of his great wealth, the circumstance of his leaving large property to his children, is a sufficient attestation. William Canynges, senr. was without doubt a leading man among the opulent burghers of old Bristol,—a merchant of high standing,—and one who was held in deserved estimation as of unquestionable probity and honour. In 1396 he terminated his earthly career, leaving by his Will, dated 2nd of October, in that year, the following bequests:—

"I leave my Soul to God its Omnipotent Creator, the Blessed Mary, and All Saints; my body to the Earth, to be buried in the chapel of the Blessed Mary, in the Church of St. Thomas the Martyr in Bristol, near to the tomb of John Stokes. I give to the fabric of the same Church twenty shillings. To the Vicar of Redcliffe, for forgotten tithes and oblations six shillings and eight-pence. To the Chaplain of the Parish of St. Thomas serving the Cure there, twen-

ty-pence. To the Deacon of the same eight-pence. To the Sub-deacon of the same six-pence. To the Suffragan of the same four-pence. To each of the Chaplains in the same Church to celebrate daily for my soul twelve-pence. To each boy in the same Church accustomed to serve in the supplications two-pence. To every other Chaplain coming to the dirge and mass at my burial four-pence. To every Parish Clerk being then at the same two-pence. To each of the Orders of Mendicant Brethren in Bristol, viz., the Friars Minors, (Franciscans,) the Friars Preachers, (Dominicans,) the Carmelites, and Augustines, six shillings and eight-pence, for the Priors of each to distribute between his brethren. To the Bedridden lying in the Hospital of St. Bartholomew at Bristol, three shillings and four-pence. To the poor in the Hospital of St. Lawrence, twenty-pence. To the poor in the Hospital of St. John the Baptist at Bristol, two shillings. To Christiana Codyngton and her children, six shillings and eight-pence. To Joanna late wife of Thomas Bocher of Circester (Cirencester,) six shillings and eight-pence. To Richard Hanham, (a merchant of Bristol and cousin to William Canynges,) ten marcs. For repairing the road between Laffardsyate (Lawford's gate) and Rudggeway, twenty shillings. To Simon Canynges all my part in the Ship called Rodecog of Bristol, with all and sin-

gular the requisites pertaining to the same Ship. To the poor lying bedridden privately within one mile round Bristol, sixty shillings to be divided between them. To be distributed to the poor on the day of my burial, and for the other funeral expenses about my burial twenty pounds. Towards finding a Chaplain in the Church of Hansden, one hundred shillings, to celebrate for the souls of John Codyngton, Margaret Smythes, myself, Geoffry Beauflour, Agnes his wife, and all the faithful dead for one year; which said one hundred shillings Christina Codyngton of my goods and by the inspection of Richard the Keeper of the same Church shall pay to the Chaplain for his stipend. Also I leave the residue of all my goods in whatsoever things they may exist, as well in vessels of silver as in others to my wife Agnes, except one plate of iron standing in my hall, which certain plate I also leave to my wife Agnes for her life and after her death I leave that plate to John Canynges. I ordain make and appoint Agnes my wife, Simon Canynges and William Warre, Executors of this my last Will. Given at Bristol on the day and year of our Lord above written." Probate was granted the 10th day of November, following.

19. It is evident that the first William Canynges was not only a large manufacturer of cloth, but that, according to this Will, he was also connected

with the shipping of the port of Bristol as one of its enterprizing merchants—express reference to which being made in this document. We also know that both himself and his son John traded with foreign parts, because it is upon record that a ship belonging to them jointly, when on a voyage to Calais and Flanders, was seized by some merchants in the year 1379, and forcibly taken into Hartlepool; and that King Richard II. directed a writ should be issued to try and punish the delinquents before the Courts at Westminster. (Appendix, B.)

20. Agnes the wife of William Canynges was daughter of John Stokes, whose name is mentioned in the above will, and near whose tomb he desired to be interred. The latter was a man of substance, and he filled the respective offices of Bailiff of Bristol, in 1353, 1354, and 1359; Mayor in 1364, 1366, and 1379; and member of Parliament in 1363, 1372, and 1382. He was one of the two last representatives, (Walter Derby being his colleague) who in 1372 was returned by the Sheriff of Gloucestershire: afterwards all writs were directed to the Sheriffs of Bristol. On the 15th of March, 1383, he established a chantry in the church of St. Thomas, for two chaplains to officiate every day before the altar of the Virgin Mary, at the foot of which he was buried; and to pray for the souls of the King, Richard II., the Commonalty of Bristol, of him-

self, his wife Joan, &c.; for the due performance of which he left a sufficient sum to the proctors for discharging the following gifts, for his obiit to be celebrated yearly, and that also of his three wives, on the 27th of May; as appears by "The Accompte of John Brampton and John Phelyps Wardeyns of the parysshe Churche and Chauntries of Saynt Thomas the appostell in the Cytie of Brystowe made the iiijth day of October in the xxxvjth year of the Reign of our soveraign Lorde Kyng Henry the Eight:—

Stokes Obytt.

Item to xij preste ...	...		iiij^{s}	0
Item to the ij Clerks and the bells	...		ij^{s}	0^{d}
Item leyng the herse and offryng	...			ij^{d}
Item to Mr Mayor ...	...		vj^{s}	viij^{d}
Item to M^{r} Pe'corier ...	...	ij^{li}	0^{s}	0^{d}
Item to Mr Towne Clerke	...	ij^{li}	0^{s}	0^{d}
Item to M^{rs} (Mayor's) foure Sergeants			ij^{s}	0^{d}
Item to the Bellman ...	...			iiij^{d}
Item for the renewyng of ij tapurs	...			xij^{d}
Item to a C (100) pore people	...		viij^{s}	iiij^{d}
Item to xxiiij. ——— people	...		iiij^{s}	0^{d}
Item to the Churche wardeyns	...		xiij^{s}	iiij^{d}
Item for iij Gallons and a pt of Lampe Oyle bought of Mr. Pikes at xxd. the gallon			v^{s}	v^{d}
Sum of the Obett.....vj^{li} vij^{s} iij^{d}				
Total receipts of Stokes Chawntrye	...	xiij^{li}	0^{s}	0^{d}
„ payments of this Chawntrye	...		xxiij^{s}	0^{d}
„ do. for Obytts and Reperacyons was		v^{li}	xvij^{s}	vj^{d}"

In 1381 John Stokes "bequeathed," says

Barrett, "money towards the new work of bringing water from Redcliffe and Temple gate to the church of St. Thomas in a leaden conduit."

21. The merchants of Bristol had by this time became so rich that in 1377, Thomas Beaupeigne, one of the witnesses with William Canynges to the conveyance of a tenement in Redcliffe street just mentioned, and who now occupied the civic chair of the chief magistrate of the town, lent, with the consent of the commonalty, five hundred marks to King Richard II., which we are informed is the first instance "of a lay community's lending money to the crown, except London." Again in 1379, they lent him one hundred marks more; and when the kingdom was threatened with a French invasion in 1386, they advanced an additional two hundred pounds. Such was the opulence of many in the old town when this first William Canynges flourished, that numbers of wealthy men whose names appear upon the civic roll of the corporation, may be referred to as having risen to eminence in the government of Bristol, through their aptitude for business, and the position they held in the estimation of their contemporaries. As merchants they had been among the most enterprising, and during a series of prosperous undertakings they had enjoyed all the advantages of their position, and the result of their well earned reputation for honour and integrity.

22. Both Barrett and Dallaway mention in the pedigree of this family a second *Robert* Canynges, younger brother of the first William of that name; and they have appended to it the date of 1340, probably meaning that he died in that year. But these writers have not informed us whence they obtained even these scanty particulars, nor do we find any thing further recorded of him. No such name occurs in any of the numerous documents it has been my pleasure to examine, and in which it might be expected it would be found, if at all. Dallaway appears to me to have echoed Barrett, and he in like manner Rowley, through his conveyancer, Chatterton. Where Barrett makes a statement in such matters without telling his readers from whence his information was derived, it were better to discard his testimony, than to repeat any tale of that writer, which is not corroborated by authentic records.

23. Again. Mr. Dallaway, in an unpublished pedigree of this family in his own hand writing, and which I have examined, (also Barrett, p. 628,) makes the first William Canynges to have had three sons, John, Jeffrey, and Simon,—the second son he says is in some accounts "made the *father*, not the *brother* of John." This remark refers to Dugdale, who in his history of Warwickshire, page 634, observes "I cannot but here take notice that Jeffrey Canninges, a younger brother to Thomas,

who married Agnes the heiress of (John) Salmon, was *father* to one John Canninges, of the City of Bristol, Merchant, who had two sons, Sir Thomas Canninges, Knt., Lord Mayor of London, and William Canynges, who having been five times Mayor of Bristol, retired and entered into Priest's Orders, and seven years after was made Dean of Westbury," &c. &c. As his authority for this statement, Dugdale says it was "Extracted by Richard Graves of Mickleton, Esq., from a large Pedigree Roll of four or five skins of Parchment, beautified with the Arms of the matches in colours, and drawn up and approved by Sir William Segar, Knt., Garter Principal King at Arms, and confirmed by his Seal annexed thereto, 10th Aug. A.D. 1622." It is somewhat strange that if Mr. Dallaway believed in the existence of Jeffrey Canynges at all, he should have omitted his name altogether in his pedigree of the family appended to his "Essay of the Life and Times of William Canynges!" There certainly is no mention of any such person in the Wills of the family; and yet we can hardly reject the evidence afforded by the testimony of a document "drawn up and approved by Garter Principal King at Arms,"—the highest authority in the realm in all such matters as that under notice.

24. From these dubious records of the past I now proceed to a few remarks respecting John

Canynges, the father of the second William Canynges, and whom I shall here regard as the son of the first William,—this arrangement will, at least, prevent confusion in the mind of the reader. Little appears, however, to be recorded of any of this remarkable family upon which reliance can be placed, and of this individual all we know is that he was engaged with his father both in the manufacture of cloth, and as a merchant trading with foreign places by means of his shipping. Barrett regards him as "inheriting a large estate from his father and pursuing a mercantile life (he) increased his patrimonial estate," so as to become a very rich man. The first time his name occurs in connection with his native place is in 1380, 3d. Richard II., when on the 6th of July, in that year, in conjunction with Robert Candever, they, as bailiffs of Bristol, witness a release of land belonging to the parish of St. Thomas. Again in 1398, 21st of the same reign, on the 13th of May, he also witnessed the conveyance of a tenement in Redcliffe street from Francis Peel to William Payes, and another party not mentioned by name, as appears by the original deed deposited among numerous others in the custody of the authorities of St. Thomas's parish. In 1382 he was sheriff, in 1392, and again in 1398, he was mayor; having also in 1384 been elected member of parliament, for Bristol. His will is dated March 13th, 1405,

and in it he is styled, as was the first William Canynges in a similar document, "a burgess and merchant of Bristol." He bequeaths "his body to be buried in the chapel of St. Thomas the Martyr, in his tomb below the chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary," which was evidently the family place of sepulture, although his brother Simon was interred, as we shall see, elsewhere. He leaves instructions that all his goods and chattels shall be distributed in three portions under the direction of his Executors, with the exception of his clothing; the whole of which, "and all other ornaments, and all other arms belonging to his body," are otherwise disposed of as the reader may see by referring to his will, a copy of which is here given. One portion of his goods he leaves to his wife Joan Wotton; another part to be distributed between his children in equal shares; and a third part to his executors, which they were to employ for his sake in whatever manner they preferred; which means in fact they were to use it for the purpose of paying priests for his obüt, and to pray for the release of his soul out of purgatory. His large estates and lands in Bristol, which his wife enjoyed during her life time, devolved, on her death, to his third son, the second William Canynges, by which addition to his fortune, the latter became a very wealthy man. His trustees, Joan his wife, Sir Henry Garleston, and John Frere, Esq., en-

tered into recognizances before the mayor at the Guildhall, for the due fulfilment of their trust.

25. The Will of John Canynges.

Datum 13th March 1405. Johannes Canynges Bergensis Bristol and Mercator. Corpus sepeliendum in Capellâ Sancti Thomæ Martyris in tumbâ meâ infra capellam B. Mariæ Virginis in orienti parte volo quod omnia bona et catalla mea distribuantur in tres partes per visum Executorum meum exceptis omnibus vestibus et omnibus aliis ornamentis et omnibus meis armis corpori meo pertinentibus Lego unam partem Johannæ uxori meæ alteram distribuendam inter liberos meos inter me et Johannam uxorem meam legitime procreatos tam inter masculos quam inter femellas per equales partes. Et tertiam partem lego executoribus meis quod facient ordinent et dispendent pro animâ meâ quali modo vellent et si aliquis liberorum infra etatem obierit volo quod dicta bona equaliter distribuenter inter tunc viventes. Do et lego Johannæ uxori meæ omnia tenementa subscripta videlicet quotuor shopas situatas in Touker strete inter terram Thomæ Barough ex parte unâ et terras meas ex alterâ et extendit se a vico anterius ad terras meas usque ad terram Wilelmi Baker ex parte unâ posterius et duas aulas cum pertinentiis in eodem suburbio in vico prædicto situatas juxta terram Johannis Bremer et parte altera anterius et

extendunt se usque ad cursum aquæ Abonæ posterius et octo shopas cum pertinentüs in suburbio Bristol prædicto situatas juxta les Rakkys cum tentoriis ibidem et tres shopas cum pertinentiis in suburbio eodem in vico Sancti Thomæ Martyris situatas inter terram Thomæ Stokes Militis ex parte unâ et terram Wilelmi Payes ex parte alterâ et unum gardinum cum duobus tenementis eidem gardino adjacentibus quæ gardina jacet in eodem suburbio juxta Le Hounden-lane et unum aliud gardinum cum pertinentiis quæ gardina jacet in suburbio prædicto in Redelyve strete inter terram Hugonis Haper ex parte unâ et terram Aliciæ Clyvedon ex parte alterâ et 13 solidi and 4 denarii reditûs assizæ exeuntis ex tenementis situatis in suburbio Bristol in Thomas strete inter meas tres shopas ex parte unâ et tenementum in quo Hugo Stonenton die hujus scripti habitat ex parte alterâ quo tenementa die confectionis hujus testamenti prædictus Willelmus Payes tenet habendum et tenendum prædictæ Johannæ uxori meæ ad terminum vitæ suæ sine calumpnia vasti de capitalibus Dominii et feodi et aliarum consuetudinum et post mortem prædictæ Johannæ Volo quod omnia prædicta tenementa cum pertinentiis suis remaneant Johanni filio meo et heredibus de corpore sui legitime procreatis quod se dictus Johannes sine hæredibus se obierit quod tunc prædicta tenementa Johanni legati permaneant hæredibus de corpore

meî Johanni Canynges testatoris et Johanno uxoris meæ procreatis Etsi Ego prædictus Johannis Canynges testator et prædicta Johanna obieremus sine hujus modi hæredibus quod tunc omnia eadem tenementa cum suis pertinentiis remaneant rectis hæredibus Johannæ uxoris meæ Item lego præfatæ Johanno uxori meæ omnia tenementa mea subscripta cum suis pertinentiis videlicet unam aulam cum una shopa adjacente cum pertinentiis in suburbio Bristol in Touker-strete inter terram Thomæ Beaupignè ex parte unâ et terras meas ex parte alterâ et extendit se a vico prædicto anterius usque ad le Lawdiche posterius et sex shopas cum pertinentiis in eodem suburbio situatas in Touker-strete inter terras meas ex unâ parte et tenus prioris et Conventiis de Wytham ex parte alterâ et quotuor tenementa cum pertinentiis in dicto suburbio in Touker-strete prædicta situata inter tenementum Jacobi Collis ex parte unâ et terras meas ex parte altera et se extendunt in vico prædicto anterius usque ad le Lawdiche posterius et unum gardinum quod jacet in Pile-strete habenda et tenenda eidem Johannæ ad terminum vitæ suæ sine calumpniâ vasti, &c. Item post mortem dictæ Johannæ uxoris meæ remaneant Thomæ filio meo et hæredibus de suo corpore &c et si idem Johannis obierit sine hæredibus tunc tenementa prædicta remaneant Thomæ filio meo et hæredibus suis et si dictus

Thomas obierit sine hæredibus tunc prædicta tenementa Thomæ legata remaneant hæredibus de corpore meo et Johannæ uxoris meæ ligitimis procreatis Ita quod si ego Johannes Canynges testator et Johanna uxor mea obieremus sine hæredibus &c quod tunc Volo quod prædicta tenementa remaneant rectis hæredibus Johannæ uxoris meæ Item Volo quod si Thomas aut hæredes sui alien averint prædicta tenementa personæ seu aliquabus personis in feodo simplici &c. tunc per illos alientio fiat vacua et millius vigoris et tunc statim omnia tenementa prædicta remaneant hæredibus meî Johannis Canynges testatoris Etsi Ego Johannes Canynges et Johanna uxor mea sine hæredibus obieremus tunc tenementa &c. remaneant rectis hæredibus Johannæ uxoris meæ. Item lego omnia mea tenementa subscripta Johannæ uxoris meæ videlicit unum tenementum cum suis pertinentiis in suburbio Bristol vocato Small strete inter tenementa Walteri Seymor ex parte unâ et tenementa Johannis Porhard ex parte alterâ et extendit se usque ad Gildam aulam Bristol posterius et sex shopas cum suis pertinentiis in suburbio Bristol versus Le Casteldych et unam aulam et quotuor shopas cum pertinentiis in suburbio Bristol in Castel strete inter tenementa Johannis Brewton ex parte un et terras Prioris et Conventiis de Monkenferleigh ex parte alterâ et duas shopas cum pertinentiis in

villa Bristol in Wynche strete inter tenementa David Vaughan et terras prioris et Conventiis de Monkenferleigh ex parte alterâ et unum gardinum quod jacet super montem Sancti Michaelis inter terras Thomæ Broke militis ex unâ parte et terras Johannis Hurell ex parte alterâ et unum gardinum quod jacet super Brendon-Hille quæ Johanna uxor Johannis Knight "Crokker" die hujus scripti tenet infra libertatis Bristoliæ et unam shopam cum pertinentiis in suburbio Bristol in Lewenes Mede inter shopam Martini Boucher ex parte unâ et shopam Hugonis Garleston ex parte alterâ et unam vacuam placeam in Villâ Bristol in Wynche strete quod Johannis Tavernor tenet et unam alteram placeam jacentem in suburbio Bristol in Baldwyns strete inter tenementa quondam Wiliemi Woodford ex parte unâ et tenementa Thomæ Gloucester ex parte alterâ et unam æram et dimidiam terræ cum pertinentiis jacentem inter terram nuper Alani Wrington ex parte unâ et terram Johannis Ffoliott ex parte alterâ habenda et tenenda prædictæ Johannæ ad terminum vitæ sine calumpnia vasti &c. Ita quod post mortem Johannæ uxoris meæ remaneant Wilelmo filio meo et heredibus suis &c. tenenda ut supra et per defectum hujus modi remaneant hæredibus femalibus de corpore meo &c. Etsi per defectum hujus modi, Volo quod prædicta tenementa cum pertinentiis præfato Wilelmo legata ven-

duntur per majorem villæ Bristol qui pro tempore fuerit et per Ballivos ejusdem Ac etiam per quatuor probos et legates homines de Parochiâ Sancti Thomæ Martyris Bristol per electionem dicti majoris et Ballivorum et capiat dictus major pro labore suo in venditione prædicta 20 solidi sterling et quilibet duorum Ballivorum 10 solidi sterling et de pecunia de venditione tenementorum predictorum proveniente distribuantur in pios usûs perdictum majorem et Ballivos Bristol et ex assensû quatuor dictorum et per majorem partem eorum pro animâ meâ et pro animabus eorum quibus teneor Item lego Johannæ uxori meæ omnia tenementa subscripta videlicit unum tenementum cum pertinentiis in suburbio Bristol in Temple strete inter tenementa Thomæ Croke Militis ex parte unâ et tenementum Ricardi Innyng ex parte alterâ et extendit se a vico predicto anterius usque ad le Lawdyche posterius et unum tenementum cum pertinentiis situatum in suburbio Bristol in Redeclyf strete inter tenementa Johannis Hardyng ex parte unâ et tenementum Henrici Greene ex parte alterâ et extendit se a vico predicto anterius usque ad cursum aquæ Abonæ posterius et reversionem unius tenementi cum pertinentiis quos Johannes Lane de Netherwere et Alicia uxor ejus de me tenent ad terminum vitæ suorum in Netherwere predicta in comitatâ Somersetensi unà cum 10 solidi redditus

quod redere tenentur annuatim pro tenemento predicto habend. et tenend. prædicta Johannæ ad terminum vitæ sine calumpnia vasti &c. Ita quod post mortem prædictæ Johannæ remaneant proli in utero predictæ Johannæ uxoris meæ die confectionis hujus testamenti tenend. ut supra Etsi prædictus proles sine hæredibus &c. obierit quod tunc Volo quod prædicta tenementa unà cum 10 solidi redditus prædicto proli legatum remaneant rectis hæredibus Johannæ uxoris meæ Item lego Johannæ uxori meæ custodiam Wilhelmi filii mei et Agnetis filiæ meæ unà cum bonis et catallis eisdem legalis quousque ad plenam aetatem pervenerint invenundo securitatem coram Majore Villæ Bristol et Ballivos ejusdem villæ prontmos et consuetudo. Item lego Margaretæ Beaupignè custodiam Thomæ filii mei et Johannæ uxoris meæ ac Margaretæ filiæ meæ unà cum bonis et catallis eisdem per me legatis quousque ad plenam ætatem pervenirint inveniendo securitatem coram Majore et Ballivis &c. Item lego Johanni Sudbury custodiam Johannis filii meî unà cum bonis et catallis inveniendo securitatem coram Majore et Ballivis &c. Et ad hoc testimentum bene et fidelitur exequendum et ad implendum ordino facio &c. Johannem uxorem meam et Dominum Henricum Garleston ac Johannem Frere executores meos In cujus rei testimonium sigillum meum apposui apud Bristol anno et die superscriptis.

26. Joan, the widow of John Canynges was subsequently married to Thomas Young, a merchant of great eminence, who was a resident in the parish of St. Mary Redcliffe. He was Bailiff 1402; Sheriff in 1407; and Mayor of Bristol in 1411, and 1420; he was also member of parliament in 1414. From this union descended a son and daughter, the former was named after his father, and became the colleague of the second William Canynges in the House of Commons as joint representatives for Bristol. He was also its Recorder, and ultimately a puisne Judge of the King's Bench. This second Thomas Young married Isabel Burton, daughter and sole heir of John Burton of Redcliffe street, to whom reference will be again made in connection with the shipping of the port. They had a son also named Thomas who died in 1500, and was buried in Redcliffe church. Alice the sister to the second Thomas Young married Thomas Pyncheon, but of whom nothing further is recorded.

27. The first William Canynges also had a son named Simon as already intimated, and a daughter Joan, who was married to John Milton, Mayor of Bristol in 1433. Of Simon all we know, with the exception of his being a merchant, may be gathered from his will preserved in the Great Will Book No. 1. in the archives of the Corporation; it is the shortest there recorded; and as the sub-

stance is contained in the following translation, which is not more brief than the original latin, it is thought unnecessary to trouble the reader with a copy of the latter. It bears date 20th November, 1413, (not 1414 as stated by Dallaway) and is as follows :—" I Simon Canynges Burgess of Bristol, being in sound mind and memory, give my Soul to the Omnipotent God, to the blessed Virgin Mary, and all the Saints; my body to be buried in the Chapel of St. Katherine in the parish Church of St. Stephen. To the Rector for tithes and oblations forgotten twenty shillings; to the fabric of the Church six shillings and eight pence; to the Chaplain of the said Church one shilling and eight pence; to the poor of the parish one shilling; to the Mother Church of Wells one shilling; to the poor in bread thirteen shillings and four pence; to the Suffragan (the Bishop) of the said Church eight pence. The residue of my property to be divided into three parts, one for religious uses for the good of my soul; the second for the use of my Widow Margaret, and the third part I bequeath to Thomas my son." This will was proved in the Guildhall before Thomas Norton, Mayor, and John Newton, Sheriff, 1 Henry 5th, 1413. Simon Canynges seems not to have meddled with public matters at all, as his name does not once occur in the municipal records of Bristol. He was nevertheless without doubt a wealthy man, and his

attachment to the church of his fathers is apparent from the mention he makes of it in his Will. Up to his time the family of the Canynges, since their residence in Bristol, had been buried in the parish church of St. Thomas, but this Simon directs that his remains should be interred in that of St. Stephen; from which circumstance it may be inferred that his dwelling also was situated in that parish. A tomb discovered in 1844, inserted in the wall of the north side of the latter church, has by some persons been attributed to this Simon Canynges, but as the style in which it is constructed does not belong to the period in which his will is dated, but rather to some half-century earlier, it may be regarded with more probability as the monument of Edward Blanket, elder brother of the more celebrated Thomas of the same name of whom some account has been already given in Chapter II.

"It was a place of ships, whose merchants bare,
From isle and continent,
Ivory and gems, fine carved works and gold."

MARY HOWITT.

CHAPTER III.

Engraved & Lithogr. by Geo. Joyce, 1863.

CHAPTER III.

1.—Obstructions to commerce. 2.—The Staple of Trade and its operation. 3.—Arbitrary conduct of Henry III. 4.—Jealousy of English merchants towards foreigners. 5.—Oppressive measures in relation to them. 6.—The removal of coined money and bullion out of England prohibited. 7.—Merchants of the Staple incorporated. 8.—Increase of commerce and its consequences. 9.—Opulence of Bristol merchants. 10.—England not a manufacturing country. 11.—Society of Merchants. 12.—Encouragement given to commerce. 13.—Banks established and trade extended. 14.—Bristol exempt from the jurisdiction of the Admiralty. 15.—Growing importance of Merchants in the 15th century. 16.—William Canynges junior. 17.—Redcliffe almshouse. 18. 19.—Canynges not the founder of it. 20.—The "Katharine of Burton" and "Nicholas of the Tower." 21.—Canynges commended by Henry VI. 22.—Drinking regulations. 23.—Canynges trade with Denmark, &c. 24.—Elected member of parliament. 25.—Jack Cade's rebellion. 26.—Canynges a legislator. 27.—Parliament dissolved and Canynges re-elected. 28.—The "Wars of the Roses." 29.—Queen Margaret visits Bristol. 30.—Canynges witnesses a transfer of land. 31.—Elected Mayor for the fourth time. 32.—Death of his wife.

1. THE commerce of England during the period embraced by these Memorials of the Canynges' Family, extending from the thirteenth century to nearly the close of the Middle Ages, was subject to frequent obstructions which greatly retarded its progress, and tended much to cripple the energies of those who embarked in speculations requiring an amount of persevering enterprise till then wholly

unknown in this country. These obstacles, however, were gradually removed, and the restrictions referred to overcome by the indomitable spirit which a course of successful trading with other nations had infused into the character of those engaged in pursuits of so profitable and encouraging a nature.

2. One of the chief causes which operated as a cheque to the onward progress of English commerce when in its infancy, was the constant variations of the Staple, as it was called. By this term is meant "a particular port, or other place to which certain commodities (such as wool, tin, leather, &c., hence called staple goods) were brought to be weighed or measured for the imposition of customs' duties previous to being exported or sold." The power of deciding where the Staple should be fixed was assumed by the monarch, who in the thirteenth century shifted it from place to place after the most capricious fashion greatly to the injury of the trader, and not much to the advantage of the revenue. Kings however have seldom meddled with commercial affairs so as to benefit the dealer, and some excuse may therefore be extended to the monarchs of the early part of the Middle Ages, who in addition to a general ignorance of the requirements of the times, added that also of a want of discernment as to the relation in which they stood to their people

as the promoters of their welfare. Their despotic interference in such matters, and the continual change of the Staple of trade and of the regulations which governed it, was most oppressive to those whose business lay in the articles comprising it.

3. But a still more severe restriction upon commerce was the unjust prerogative exercised by the crown, of limiting all mercantile dealings of every kind for a specified time to one particular place only; so that the trader was subject to the most arbitrary exactions in the shape of tolls and dues, which an ever grasping and irresponsible monarch could readily turn to his own peculiar profit. Thus for example, king Henry III. proclaimed a fair to be held in 1245 at Westminster for fifteen days, during the continuance of which every other fair throughout England was suspended; commerce took its departure from London and other towns and journeyed to the favoured spot, whither traders were compelled to convey their goods for sale, shutting up their shops and closing their places of business in the mean time!

4. It has been already intimated that a peculiar feature in the character of the English at this period appears to have been a considerable amount of jealousy towards foreigners in matters relating to trade. This feeling in regard to those of other nations, contributed greatly to fetter the specula-

ting temper of the age, and to confine the commerce of the country to limits prescribed by the narrowing influence of unworthy motives. But this unwillingness on the part of our merchants to admit foreigners to a share in the profits of successful enterprise, was happily but of short continuance; for an enlarged intercourse with men of other climes banished the selfish policy which has shackled the commerce of England, and opened up new avenues to wealth, honour and distinction. Foreign competition, as in all cases of rivalry, quickened the energies of the English merchant, and although many attempts were made in subsequent times by monarchs of restricted views in commercial affairs to stop an interchange of profitable dealing, all enactments, however oppressive and troublesome, failed to retard the advancement of the trading spirit of the age, or to confine the speculations of the people within the unnatural bounds prescribed by interested legislation.

5. Notwithstanding the gradual growth of this commercial reciprocity, many unjust and vexatious restrictions were enforced upon foreigners by the British government, even when the English markets were opened to them; and these were found to be exceedingly annoying. Not so much as a residence in this country was permitted to such traders but by special licence from the king,

until the accession of Edward I. to the throne, by whom this law was abrogated. Even then the entire body of foreigners were held responsible for the debts or crimes of any individual member of their order—a regulation which continued in force until 1353, when by the "Statute of the Staple" this law was altered; although it still continued to be practised for a long time afterwards, when circumstances appeared to call for the exercise of its peculiar observances.

6. But perhaps one of the most oppressive measures which any monarch ever imposed upon the commerce of this country, was that of king Edward I. who in 1307 prohibited either coined money or bullion to be carried out of the kingdom! The result of such an arbitrary and strange proceeding was, that foreign merchants were compelled to have recourse to barter in all their transactions, and either to exchange their goods for those of our own traders, or to invest the proceeds of all sales in other commodities, before they could return to their homes. This impolitic statute continued to be in force with occasional exemptions in particular cases, until Richard II. permitted foreign merchants to take away half of the money arising from the sale of their goods; ultimately Henry IV. annulled the law, as being "hurtful and prejudicial, as well for the king and his realm as for the said merchants, aliens, and strangers."

7. In the reign of Edward II. the exporters of wool, and such other articles as formed the Staple of Trade, were incorporated as "Merchants of the Staple." To them it belonged to fix the place or staple to which alone their goods were to be conveyed for sale. But this privilege was assumed, as we have seen, by the king and his government, much to the prejudice of the trader. Leland (Collect v. 2. p. 689) speaking of the transactions of the following reign says, "In 29 Edw. 3. was the staple of wools revoked out of Flanders, and set at divers places in England, at Westminster, Cantorbyry, Chichester, and Bristow, Lyncolne and Hulle." From this date the making of woollen goods became the staple manufacture of Bristol; and the parishes of Temple and St. Thomas were chiefly occupied by the thrifty weavers of the Middle Ages in this, one of the oldest towns in the kingdom. In Temple was their hall, portions of which are now standing; and in the parish church, the chapel of their guild still remains; on the floor of which, the grave stones are charged with the shuttle carved upon them, as emblematical of the calling of the parties whose dust occupies the space below.

8. The progress of English commerce, with all the hindrances it met with from the arbitrary measures of monarchs, or the short-sighted policy of the people was, nevertheless very considerable

during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Navigation was greatly encouraged, shipping vastly increased, and statutes intended specifically to advance the interests of trade, were repeatedly passed by the legislature. Opulent merchants sprang up in all our ports, which then could boast of a large number of vessels, used for the purposes of commerce, evidencing even at that early period, that an extensive intercourse in matters relating to it, was carried on with foreign countries. Bristol was, next to London, the most considerable seaport in the empire, carrying on a great trade with Denmark, Iceland, the North Seas, Spain, Flanders, Normandy, the Baltic, Genoa, Venice, and other places distant from Britain. It imported the wines, silks, and spices of sunny Italy, and the Levant; and the far off products of the frozen North; by which it enriched its merchants with immense wealth, and placed them upon an equality with those of the metropolis of the empire.

9. In 1347, at the siege of Calais, Bristol furnished from its trading vessels, no less than twenty-two ships, and six hundred and eight mariners to aid in the undertaking. So opulent were its merchants in 1377, that the Mayor and commonalty lent five hundred marks to Richard II., which was then regarded as a large sum; and was only exceeded by a similar loan at the same time by the city of London. When the French

threatened in 1386, to invade our shores, Bristol lent a second amount, which doubled that of any other place in the kingdom—the metropolis alone exempted.

10. Yet with all this import trade, England was at that time, greatly inferior as a manufacturing country. Strange as it may appear, amongst all the commodities introduced into this kingdom by its extended commercial intercourse with other nations, not a single article of raw material is even mentioned; whilst its exports consisted of scarcely any thing else. This silence in regard to such goods as those referred to, may probably be accounted for from the fact that those only are mentioned upon which customs' duties were levied; for certainly many articles in which it is known the English people traded, do not appear upon the record. With this allowance, however, England certainly was not then distinguished by its manufacturing superiority over other nations.

11. The foreign trade of this country was at the close of the fourteenth century, chiefly in the hands of its native merchants of the staple, then denominated the "Merchants of England." A society of foreign merchants was however established here at the same time, and which consisted entirely of traders belonging to Cologne; who, not only were allowed to have their own hall in which to transact the business of their guild, but

they were also permitted to attend fairs in any part of England. In 1379 a wealthy Genoese merchant proposed to King Richard II. that Southampton should be made the chief depôt and mart of all the goods his countrymen were accustomed to convey to Flanders, Normandy, and Bretagne; the effect of which would be to compel those countries to obtain the articles supplied by the Genoese immediately from England. The murder of the projecter of this scheme in the streets of London, probably by the hand of some one whose interest would be affected by its adoption, prevented its being carried out.

12. The increasing importance of the foreign trade of England in the fifteenth century, induced its monarchs to pay much greater attention to its advancement than those of preceding times. King Henry IV. concluded several treaties advantageous to his own subjects with the Hanse Towns in Germany, with Castile, Portugal, Flanders, and other continental states, by which a mutual intercourse was secured and the growth of commerce in this country greatly accelerated. The result of this wise policy on the part of the sovereign, produced its corresponding effects among his subjects; for soon repeated applications were made for acts of incorporation, whereby the trader in foreign countries might be protected by the appointment of a governor to watch over his

interests. Such acts were granted, and thus was first established in other lands by English merchants, a power answering to that of consuls in modern times.

13. The illiberal expedient adopted by Edward I. of forbidding coined money or bullion to be removed from the country, although received in payment for goods sold by foreign merchants in the English markets, was abrogated by Henry IV.; and instead of British money being confined to the people of this island, it was, in his reign, to be found in every country on the continent; and this resulted from the establishment of Banks in various parts of Europe; the first of which, properly so called, was opened at Barcelona in 1401. The restrictions also which had been imposed upon navigation by the first bill ever passed in reference to it by an English parliament, which occurred in the fifth year of Richard II., must have been greatly relaxed at this time; for whereas by it all exports or imports of merchandise were forbidden in any other than English vessels, now frequent mention is made in the annals of the times of foreign ships departing from our coasts, richly laden with commodities of various kinds of purely British manufacture. By foreign vessels too, the products of Northern and Oriental nations were conveyed to this country; and the ships of the Venetians, the Genoese, and other distant

peoples, were to be seen riding at anchor off our coasts, or moored in security within our harbours. None purchased so extensively in the markets of Flanders, and those of other states on the continent as the English; and the merchants of no other port in Britain were more energetically engaged in conducting to a profitable issue, the pursuits in which they had embarked, than were the traders of Bristol.

14. For the greater promotion of its commerce Henry IV. gave a charter to the town (Barrett p. 175,) by which the mayor and commonalty were exempted from the power and jurisdiction of the Admiralty of England. In it the monarch says, that "Considering the many notable services which very many merchants, burgesses of our town of Bristol, have done for us, and our famous progenitors, in many ways, with their ships and voyages, at their own great charges and expense; as also for the grateful sense which we have recently found in the mayor and commonalty of the said town, in freely giving us £200. in our necessities, for the more readily expediting certain arduous affairs of our kingdom; and also since many of the said burgesses and merchants have been grievously vexed and disturbed by the lieutenants and other officers of our admiralty of England, to their great loss and inconvenience. We therefore, of our special grace, mere motion, and

certain knowledge, have granted for us and our heirs, to the mayor and commonalty, and their heirs, that the said town, &c. shall for ever be free from the jurisdiction, &c. of the said admiralty, &c."

15. The result of these privileges and exemptions, together with that spirit of successful competition before alluded to, was greatly to enrich many individual merchants between the close of the fourteenth century and that of the reign of Edward IV. in the year 1483. Some of these were the founders of noble families who in succeeding ages rose to the highest dignities in the state, and enjoyed its greatest honours. In such esteem were these traders and their occupation in the Middle Ages, held, that monarchs even, together with nobles and the upper ranks among the clergy, may with great propriety be classed with the merchants of their time. The Cistercian monks were the greatest buyers and sellers of wool in England; for religious persons were exempt from the payment of customs' dues; and in this particular article they continued to have extensive dealings until, in 1344 an act was passed by the Parliament which prohibited ecclesiastics following any kind of commercial pursuit.

16. Among those who, as traders, rose to eminence in the fifteenth century, none is more deserving notice than the second William Canynges who has ever been regarded as one of

the merchant princes of that period. No document has been discovered to inform us either in what year he drew his first breath, or in what locality; yet from the fact that his father John Canynges resided in Touker-street in the parish of St. Thomas, in the church of which he also was interred, the probability is that there he was born. Nor have we any record of his youthful days, saving that he lost his father when he was but five years of age; and as this occurred in 1405, the birth of William the son must have taken place either in 1399 or 1400; so that he entered upon the theatre of life just as King Richard II. quitted it—the death of the latter dating in the last mentioned year. On the marriage of his mother with Thomas Young, William Canynges was, at a proper age, taken into his counting-house as introductory to future commercial engagements; in the prosecution of which he subsequently acquired so great and deserved a renown. He ultimately succeeded his father-in-law in business.

17. The first mention made of this eminent man in any record that I have met with occurs in the list of civic officers for the governance of Bristol. He seems to have been held in high esteem from an early period; for ere he had passed his thirty second year, he was chosen one of its Bailiffs, the duties of which he doubtless performed to the satisfaction of the authorities and

of his fellow townsmen; for he was elected to fill the more important station of Sheriff in 1438. From this time he appears to have risen as a public man, although little is recorded of him up to this period. About two years subsequent to the last mentioned date he is said to have founded an almshouse for poor persons belonging to the parish of St. Mary Redcliffe. As however, a very considerable amount of doubt exists regarding the share he had in the matter, I cannot do better than quote from the "Report of the Commissioners for inquiry concerning Charities in England and Wales, so far as relates to the Charitable Institutions in Bristol," edited by the late Thomas John Manchee, which mentions this circumstance (Vol. 2, p. 95) as follows:—

"This Almshouse is *reputed* to have been founded by William Canynges, about the year 1440; which opinion is countenanced by an entry in one of the corporation books enumerating the various benefactions of William Canynges to the city of Bristol, and stating, among other things, that he founded an Almshouse on Redcliffe-hill, and gave every one of his poor there 20s. a piece. It does not appear whether these 20s. were intended as a permanent endowment, or in what manner the payment was secured; nor have we been able to gain any other information whatever relative to this supposed foundation."

"It appears, however, from the certificate of the Commissioners under the statute of chauntries, which we have inspected in the Augmentation Office, that William Canynges founded two chauntries in Redcliffe Church, for two priests to sing at the altars, for two annual obits; and moreover 'to distribute certain money yearly for ever, to the relief of the poor people.' The lands and tenements belonging to these chauntries are certified to be of the annual value of £31 19s. 4d., out of which, there was paid to the poor the yearly sum of 26s. 8d. It is possible the poor in the almshouse may have had the benefit of this annual payment, which would necessarily determine upon the seizure of the chauntries into the hands of the crown. The property so seized was granted by Queen Elizabeth 'to the free chapel or parish church of St. Mary Redcliffe, (that) the rents, issues, and profits thereof, should be employed in maintaining and keeping the said church in its wonted beauty and repair; it being a great ornament to those parts of the kingdom.'"

"From the earliest period to which the parish books yet extant enable us to trace (viz. the year 1580,) this house appears to have been under the management of the vestry, and to have been kept in repair by the general parish funds. There are also occasional charges in the earlier accounts, for shrouds and funeral expences for persons dying in

those almshouses; but there is no trace of any periodical or other contribution from the parish funds to the support of the almspeople; although it is possible that they may have always participated (as they are found to do at this day) in the general charities to the poor of the parish.

"For more than half a century past this almshouse has been appropriated to the reception of parish paupers, in consequence of arrangements made with the corporation of the poor of Bristol;" and it has been "kept in repair by the vestry."

18. From the foregoing narrative it will be seen that William Canynges' name has become associated with this almshouse, as it has with almost everything else connected with St. Mary Redcliffe —by the authority of *Tradition* only; which in fact has given him nearly all the prominence he has so long held as a munificent benefactor to this particular parish. We have, however, no reasonable ground for entertaining any such opinion, and I dare not repeat, *without proof*, the thousand and one stories which have obtained credence respecting him, with not a shadow of tangible evidence to the fact. Such a free expression of opinion so opposite to those generally entertained, may, perhaps, at first sight startle the reader, but a careful investigation of every circumstance which the life of the subject of these remarks has brought under notice, compels their adoption. The popular voice

alone has linked the name of this princely merchant with every thing charitable in old Redcliffe, and with deeds of benevolence with which he was in no way concerned. Canynges had his almoner, (as we shall see) for such a personage was a fashionable appendage to the establishments of the affluent in the middle ages; and to him it belonged to dispense his master's bounty. These aids in cases of ordinary charity towards the poor who needed a passing alms, were, doubtless, commensurate with the position the donor held in society; but even this is merely assumed; and beyond it we only know that like that of many other wealthy men of his time, Canynges' munificence extended chiefly to monkish fraternities—to those from whom he expected to reap some after advantage in return—the benefit of certain religious observances for the repose of his soul. To priests and friars we are referred, almost exclusively, for his acts of beneficence; and it is, as far as an extended research has confirmed the fact to my own mind, a mere assumption on the part of his panegyrists to assert more than is here set down to his account as fairly due to him. Laudatory, oft-repeated tales, have obtained among us, until their very repetition has invested them with the semblance of truth. Such relations may amuse the masses, but will fail to interest the thoughtful when investigation has stripped them of their time-honored

embellishments, and exposed their fallacy to the gaze of the inquisitive.

19. The almshouse to which William Canynges is said to have been a benefactor, seems to have been a Spital House, and it is not improbable it was connected with the two chantries before mentioned, and which at a subsequent period he founded in Redcliffe Church; to these reference will be made in future pages of this work. If this opinion be correct, the *repair* of this house was that alone for which he provided, and the interest was to be paid in prayer offered for his soul. We have no evidence whatever that Canynges did any act of charity without an eye to a profitable return, which, as a merchant, habit had induced him at all times to look for. "The transactions of the Corporation of the Poor by James Johnson, F.A.S." says "There is a traditionary account that it (this almshouse,) was a Spital, or house of entertainment for travellers, who were each allowed fourpence a day for their support. It is not improbable but that William Canynges may have built it for that purpose." Its situation is not on Redcliffe-hill as these remarks would lead us to suppose, but close to Bedminister Bridge and facing the river.

20. Having filled the situation of Bailiff, and discharged the more important duties of Sheriff of Bristol, William Canynges was, for the first time,

elevated to a still higher post of honour, by being raised in 1441, to the dignity of chief magistrate of his native town. Before the expiration of the year for which he was elected had expired, and probably very early in 1442, the Commons of England deemed it prudent to establish a naval force for the defence of the country; and in case of attempted invasion, to increase its power, "to keep the sea from Candlemas to Martinmas," by enlisting the aid of British merchants, and the "Katherine of Boston," a vessel, the name of which occurs in William of Wyrcestre's list of Canynges' ships is referred to as being available, among others, for the purpose. This statement is repeated by Barrett, but subsequent research has distinctly shewn that the "Katherine of Burton" or *Boston* as both writers call it, was the property of John Burton, an important Bristol merchant at the time mentioned, and not William Canynges. In conjunction with this ship was another called the "Nicholas of the Tower," which Seyer (Vol. ii, p. 50,) supposes to have been built by the same John Burton, near a round tower on the Quay, in the parish of St. Nicholas, at Bristol, and from which circumstance it received its name. This opinion was adopted by the late Mr. William Tyson, F.S.A., who in a paper read at the meeting of the Archæological Institute in this city in 1851, and published in their "Proceedings" for that

year, p. 35, endeavoured to prove this fact, and also that John Burton was its owner. Mr. Seyer in relation to this subject, quotes "Bree's Cursory Sketch;" on which Mr. John Gough Nichols, F.S.A., (Gentleman's Magazine, 1851, p. 519,) remarks, "I must confess that I have been not a little surprised at the amount of inaccuracy which is here exhibited by (Mr. Seyer) an historian for whom I have always entertained a high degree of respect." He then proceeds to show where that writer has been misled by Mr. Bree, who copied inaccurately from the Harleian M.S.; and he then adds, that "Mr. Seyer flounders more deeply in error when he proceeds to identify the 'Katherine of Burton' with the 'Katherine of Bristol," (Canynge's ship;) and that Tyson was wrong in asserting that the "Nicholas of the Tower" took its name from a tower at Bristol near which it was built, or that it was at all connected with the old town, or had Burton for its owner. The truth appears to be that it received its designation from the Tower of London, which proudly overlooks the majestic river flowing through that great mart of nations. In this ship William de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, prime minister of Henry VI., (who had been impeached by parliament on charges of corruption and treason in January, 1450, and ordered to leave the kingdom for five years,) received a mock trial when captured in the month of May following,

and on the gunwale of the long boat attached to the vessel he was immediately beheaded by the sailors.

21. Although no distinct mention is made of the commercial transactions of William Canynges at this period of his life in detail, yet it is sufficiently obvious that he was a man of great eminence. In a very few years after the circumstance last named, he manifestly enjoyed the smiles of royalty, for he was distinguished from among the merchants of Bristol by Henry the VI. as one deserving the signal countenance and approval of that monarch; who in 1449, when Canynges was mayor for the second time, addressed letters of commendation to the Master General of Prussia and to the Magistrates of Dantzic, praying them to favour his factors established within their jurisdiction, and to advance the interests of "his beloved eminent merchant of Bristol." *(Rymer's Fœdera, Tom.* xi. *p.* 226.*)*

22. During Canynges' mayoralty in 1449 it was ordained by him and the common council, May 20th, in that year "that the drinking at St. John's and St. Peter's nights should be wholly to persons of crafts going the nights before the mayor, sheriff, and other notable persons, and that the mayor and sheriff on forfeiture of five marks apiece, the one at St. John's night, the other at St. Peter's, should dispense wine to be disposed of

to the said crafts at their halls; viz. To the Weavers and Tuckers each ten gallons; to the taylors and cornesers each eight gallons; butchers six gallons; dyers, bakers, brewers, and shermen each five gallons; skinners, smiths, furriers, cutelers, lockyers, barbers, waxmakers, tanners, whitawers (Pointmakers,) each four gallons; masons, tylers, carpenters, hoopers, wiredrawers, and cardmakers, three gallons each; bowers and fletchers (Arrow makers) each two gallons; in all ninety-four gallons."....." Mention is also made and orders given about the mayor and council going to their Christmas drinking to the abbot of St. Augustine, as hath been accustomed." *(Barrett, p. 125.)*

23. The same writer referring to the extensive mercantile transactions of William Canynges at this time, says, at page 170, "In 1450 we find by a treaty with Christian, King of Denmark, (Rymer, Tom ii, p. 264,) three places prohibited us from trading to, Iceland, Halgesland, and Finmark;" this treaty however, was "dispensed with in favor of Canynges, (Fœdera, Tom. xi, p. 277,) the Danish King allowing Canynges in consideration of the great debt due to Canynges from his subjects of Iceland and Finmark, to lade certain English ships with merchandize for those prohibited places, and there to lade fish and other goods in return: wherefore during his mayoralty of Bristol, because

Canynges had done good service unto the King, he allowed the same to be done for two years to come on two ships, &c." It was during his year of office at this time, that Canynges, in consequence of the disaffection of the people towards the government, repaired and fortified the town walls, as appears by the following entry among the Archives of the Corporation :—

It' for repa'cion of the Wallis of Bristoll
deliu'ded to Nicholas hille and to
John Stanlegh bi comaundment
of William Canynges, Maire.
And all the co'ne (commen) councell
Anno xxviij° henrici sexti.
} xv^li.

In reference to this entry it is added in a "Mem'dum that the 10th. June 28th. Hen. 6. Willm. Canynges Mayor of Bristow with the Sheriff and Common Council ordered certain sums of the common money to be expended in the amendyng of the Walles of the same towne and other fortefieng. They also ordered £40 for the purchase of certyn gonnes and other stuffe necessarie for defence of the said town, as follows—In primis xx botefull of Warpestones. Itm alle the Salt petre that may be founde in this towne. Itm a dos' brasyn gonnes to be made Shetyng pelett as grete as a parys balle or lesse and eu'y gonne with iiij Chambres."

24. Two years were not permitted to elapse after Canynges had last filled the office of mayor

of Bristol, before he was chosen by his fellow townsmen to occupy a yet more prominent position, being elected in 1451 for the first time to represent them in the House of Commons summoned to meet at Westminster. This was then an unenviable post, although in the present day it is one which many are ambitious to fill; but our merchant of the fifteenth century would have preferred the quiet of his own domestic circle after the toils of a day of commercial anxiety, to a seat in the senate of the land, with the strifes and contentious debates contingent upon legislation. Although paid for his attendance in the House, (Appendix, C.) it harmonized little with his love of home and his peaceful fireside, where in the more congenial companionship of those he loved, his retirement, contrasted with the turmoil of public life, was to him a little paradise in which there was nothing to be desired. Then a journey to the great metropolis in attendance upon parliamentary duties was a fatigue he would gladly have avoided, but his sense of duty demanded the sacrifice, and he cheerfully made it; a lengthened separation from his family was also submitted to at the call of a constituency he was pledged to serve. The position Canynges must then have occupied among his contemporaries was that of an intelligent, high-minded, and eminently religious man—one by whom an engagement once entered upon was sacred as the

most obligatory and binding action of his life.

25. The transactions in which Canynges was engaged in his place in the House, were of a somewhat onerous nature; but that which derived most interest from its public character, was the rebellion and subsequent attainder of the notorious Jack Cade, whose followers had menaced the safety of the government and the stability of the throne. Canynges' colleague was his half-brother Thomas Young, an eminent lawyer, and not his father-in-law of the same name, as stated by Mr. Lucas in his Illustrations of the History of Bristol, p. 282. Thomas Canynges, the elder brother of our Bristol merchant was at the same time sheriff of London.

26. On the suppression of this insurrection William Canynges was engaged in serious legislation for the future peace of the nation. The attainder of Cade, in which doubtless he took a part, was followed by inquiries into the nature of the grievances of which the people complained; and these were found to have originated very much from the influence of Queen Margaret, whose aim was to place the King and the few nobles she favoured, in direct antagonism with the popular demands for examination into the conduct of the leading ecclesiastics; who had so far infringed the constitution as to have provoked a spirit of national resentment. In this delicate business we can

easily imagine the susceptible mind of Canynges was peculiarly exercised; for he was not only sincere in his profession of an earnestly subservient obedience to the hierarchy of Rome, but he was also ardently attached to the House of Lancaster, which then occupied the throne of England in the person of Henry VI.; and to yield implicitly to the demands of the former, while yet rendering a loyal duty to the latter, required all his sagacity; —made still more difficult from the many acts of special favour he had received from his sovereign, who by multitudes was regarded as an exalted specimen of sainted humanity. Canynges seems however to have acted both towards the Church and towards the Monarch with prudence and foresight—to the one as its obedient son and zealous follower; and to the other as the not less dutiful and faithful subject.

27. Released from the important duties of parliament by its dissolution in 1455, William Canynges returned to his constituents the trust they had committed to him; but in the same year he was re-elected, and we again find him seated amongst the legislators of his country—a sufficient proof that he had previously filled the post with honor, and discharged its obligations with integrity. Thomas Young, (who in 1453 had been committed to the tower for moving in the House of Commons that, as the King had no issue, the

Duke of York, to whom Cade had claimed relationship, should be declared heir apparent to the Crown,) was again chosen with him; and now that York, who had for several years been gradually increasing in popularity, sought, for the people, a redress of those grievances of which they righteously complained, especially that of giving up to justice the advisers of the King who had been accused of malpractices, their position in the legislature was somewhat critical, as all such demands were met with a threat of punishment, such as should be awarded to traitors.

28. About the time that Canynges was first sent to parliament, commenced those civil contests known as the "Wars of the Roses," the longest and most sanguinary recorded in the annals of England; and in which the flower of her nobility were cut off by the sword. For the space of fifty-four years the fairest portions of the realm bore testimony to the ravages committed by the partizans of the rival Houses of York and Lancaster—the white Rose, and the Red—who for the possession of a crown, bathed their weapons in the blood of their nearest of kin, and wrought the most frightful misery and desolation among the adherents of the contending chiefs; uprooting all established order; disarranging the multitudinous associations of the people; and either confirming their loyal attachment to the sovereign, or diverting their regards from him into

channels where a spirit of contentious anarchy usurped the place of order and dutiful obedience,

29. The parliamentary duties of Canynges when sent to the House of Commons for the second time, must have been of short duration; for in the following year (1456) he was elected mayor of his native town for the third time—his elder brother Thomas being at the same time Lord Mayor of London. During his year of office, Margaret of Anjou, the ambitious, high spirited queen of Henry VI. visited Bristol, with a long retinue of nobles, and was honourably entertained by the civic authorities, with William Canynges at their head. Unfortunately no document remains among the corporation archives, to inform us of the proceedings on so memorable an occasion; but as the king himself had some ten years previously favored the old town with his presence, when he conferred a new charter on the burgesses, they doubtless, in grateful remembrance of that fact, feasted the intrepid consort of the simple-minded but pious Henry, with a becoming regard to the dignity of the guest, and of their own position as conservators of the interests of one of the most important sea-ports in the empire. The western counties of England were then in a state of tumult, caused chiefly through the refusal of the parliament to grant the prayer of the people for an inquiry into the character of the wrongs

of which they complained. Ecclesiastics governed England with their usual intolerance; and the House of Lancaster, supported by the church of Rome in all its unjust and illegal enactments against those who either from religious or political motives endeavoured to free their country from the uneasy yoke of an usurped authority, was compelled to be at enmity with the masses over whom it swayed the sceptre of an imperious rule. The cruelties practised upon all who were deemed heretics by the Church, and the severities inflicted upon those who for conscience sake rejected its dogmas as unscriptural and idolatrous, also operated greatly in increasing the hatred with which the popular mind regarded the ruling powers; and it is not improbable that the visit of the Queen to Bristol at this juncture, was connected with the disturbed state of public feeling in places adjacent; for monarchs have too frequently resorted to "a progress" through their empire to draw the attention of their subjects from the great object of their solicitude; and by the attractions of an entry, a procession, a pageant and a feast, to hush into quietude the popular voice—not always grateful to royal ears—and dispose of their importunate beseechings by a more agreeable process than occupying their time in patiently listening to their cries for relief, and their oft repeated appeals for a redress of their wrongs.

30. Whilst mayor of Bristol at this period, William Canynges witnessed the transfer of a "Close" to a fellow townsman, as appears by a deed preserved among the archives of the parish of St. Thomas. The date of this transaction is November 20th, 1457, and the "Close" or piece of land of which mention is made, was situated "in the way to Brandon-hill," but it is not easy to ascertain the names of the other parties concerned in the matter; this however is of little moment compared with that of connecting Canynges with the affair; which obtains additional interest from the fact of its being the first document of any authority not in possession of the Corporation in which he appears either in a public or private capacity (his year of office as mayor not having expired;) indeed it is the earliest record (not civic) now known to exist in the city, upon which reliance can be placed, which refers at all to this estimable man.

31. In the year 1460, Canynges for the fourth time occupied the chair of the chief magistrate of Bristol, now for him at least by no means a desirable office. England was torn by intestine commotions of a character calculated to make a man of less energy than himself shrink from encountering a task of so much difficulty. The "Wars of the Roses" still distracted the nation, and the ever shifting circumstances both in men and things of

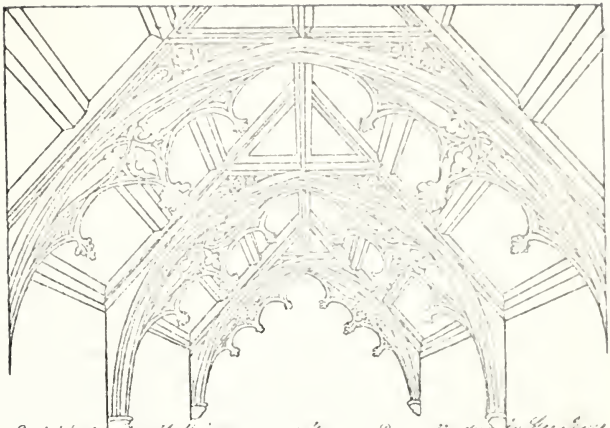
which the times were prolific, deterred ordinary individuals from entering upon public life, and disinclined them from taking a prominent position in civil government. Yet William Canynges hesitated not to undertake the duties of office in these perilous times, although the people of Bristol were, like those of all other towns in the provinces, more or less affected by peculiar class interests, and all the jarring elements which party strife is sure to engender among the discontented masses. He saw the downfall of his patron King Henry, and as Bristol's chief magistrate he proclaimed his successful rival Edward IV.; and if with a sigh he mourned the fate of the last Lancasterian monarch, he probably hailed the commencement of the rule of another dynasty, although established in the person of a voluptuary who had waded to power through seas of human blood.

32. But the most memorable incident in Canynges history at this period is, that in the year last named, he is believed to have lost his wife Joanna, to whom he had been early married, and with whom he had lived for many years in the utmost harmony. The fond attachment formed between them in their younger days had ripened into an enduring affection as they advanced in life, and when severed from him by the hand of death, Canynges appears to have cherished for her memory the highest possible regard. The respect

he had for her, induced him to remain a widower until his own decease; the circumstances connected with which, will be related in another place.

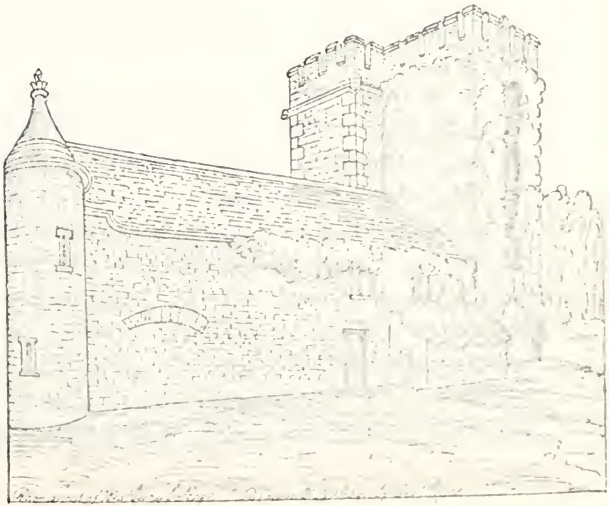
——————————"A worthy man,
Whose word would pass on 'change soon as his bond;
A liberal man—for schemes of public good
That sets down tens, where others units write;
A charitable man—the good he does,
That's told of, not the half."

J. SHERIDAN KNOWLES.



Roof of the Chapel or Hall in Canynges House. Drawn & engr. by Geo. Pyne

Chapter IV.



CHAPTER IV.

1.—King Edward IV. visits Bristol. 2.—Mansions of the Middle Ages. 3.4.5.6.—How furnished. 7.—William Canynges residence. 8.9.—Its remains described. 10.11.—The King exacts a forced loan, Canynges shipping. 12.—His fine "to make his peace." 13.—Sir Baldwin Fulford. 14.—His trial and execution. 15.—His heirs restored in blood and estate. 16.—Canynges gifts to the Mendicants. 17—Elected Mayor for the fifth time. 18.—Ordinances of the Bristol Merchants. 19.—Canynges donation to Redcliffe Church. 20.—Commanded by the King to marry. 21.—Correctness of the statement questioned. 22.—His retirement to Westbury College, and his alleged reasons for doing so, examined. 23.—Thomas Canynges, Sheriff of London. 24.—Death of Jack Cade, and disposition of his body. 25.—Thomas Canynges, Lord Mayor of London. 26.—John, Agnes, Julian, and Margaret Canynges. 27.—Pedigree, Table II., Canynges of Foxcote. 28.—Notes on Ditto. 29.—Pedigree, Table III., Canynges of Garvagh and de Redcliffe. 30.—Notes on Ditto.

1. Towards the close of the year in which William Canynges for the fourth time occupied the chair of Bristol's Chief Magistrate, the old town was visited by King Edward IV., who was then on a tour through the Western Counties. In recording this visit, quaint old John Stow informs his readers that "in the harvest season, King Edward rode to Canterbury and to Sandwich, and so along by the sea coast to Hampton, and from thence into the Marches of Wales, and to Bristow, where he was most royally received;" and

the following very curious account of the pageant which welcomed him is supplied by the learned editor of Warkworth's Chronicle, in his notes appended to that volume. It commences with

"The receyvyng of Kyng Edward iiij^th at Brystowe.

"First, at the comyng inne atte temple gate, there stode Wylliam Conquerour, with iij. lordis, and these were his wordis :—

'Wellcome Edwarde! oure son of high degre;
Many yeeris hast thou lakkyd owte of this londe—
I am thy forefader, Wylliam of Normandye,
To see thy welefare here through Goddys sond.'

"Over the same gate stoudyng a greet Gyant delyveryng the keyes.

"The Receyvyng atte Temple Crosse next following;—

"There was Seynt George on horsbakke, uppon a tent, fyghtyng with a dragon; and the Kyng and the Quene on hygh in a castell, and his doughter benethe with a lambe; and atte the sleying of the dragon ther was a greet melody of aungellys."

2. The mansion in which William Canynges resided, and in which he entertained his royal guest, was situated on the west side of Redcliffe street, which at that time was a suburb to Bristol. This outlet to the old town consisted chiefly of detached villas (if such a term may be applied to the dwellings of the upper classes of society in the Middle Ages,) erected by the opulent merchants who occupied it; together with a sprinkling of the feudal tenants of the Lords of Berkeley, to whom much of the land in this vicinity belonged. The houses built upon this site, fronted Redcliffe street on the east, where they overlooked the fields then spread out in rich luxuriance as far as the eye

could reach, interrupted only by the dwelling of the Templars, and here and there a religious house which dotted the landscape. From the street these mansions extended to Redcliffe Back, where was the river or garden front; and from whence the Marsh, with its green sward, then a public promenade—the monasteries of the Augustinians, the Bonhommes, the Carmelites, and others, with their turrets and tapering church spires, gave interest to the scene—and Bristol with the gabled dwellings of its traders of a more humble character than those of Redcliffe, viewed from this spot, nestled under the shadow of the hills which surrounded it. But modern improvements have swept away most of the fine old timber houses which then projected over the pathway beneath; and seemed, as they hung story over story, ready to fall upon the passengers who trudged the miry thoroughfare—almost impassable from pitfalls—for then the luxury of paved streets was unknown. It is difficult for one in modern times to realize a faithful picture of the old town as presented to us in the age of Canynges, when the genius of the carpenter and painter was called into requisition—and the barge boards of the one with their elaborate carvings, and the variegated colourings of the other, with their many tinctured heraldic emblazonments, richly embellished the exterior of the mansions raised by the affluent, and

which conveyed a rude but popular idea of the opulence of its inhabitant. Within, these aristocratic dwellings were divided into separate apartments, with a view to the dignity of the owner and the family, as well as the convenience and occupations of the dependents. In "the solar" or first story were the chief apartments, the windows of which were frequently very handsome both as to size and design: this floor comprised the best suite of rooms in the house, but in some instances the entire space consisted of one large apartment only. Over this, another floor was generally raised, containing the sleeping rooms of the family and servants; which being formed in the gables of the roof, to which they were open, were necessarily of small dimensions. The ground floor of the mansion was occupied by the domestic offices and rooms commonly used for stores necessary to the household. The walls of the interior were generally wainscotted and covered with hangings, and the ceilings were enriched with painting and gilding, which seems to have been bestowed upon the houses of the opulent with an unsparing hand—the gayest colouring being that which had the preference: on the panelled divisions legends and scripture stories were represented. Arras hangings adorned the walls, or tapestried drapery embellished the apartments of the wealthy; which enrichments however did

not cover them entirely, but only certain portions, such as the upper end of the great hall, the doorways &c., or else they served to separate a large room into two of more convenient size. These hangings were generally composed of very costly materials, and frequently embroidered after the richest manner, and worked in a variety of curious devices with armorial bearings, legends of saints, and sacred narrations depicted on them. Silk curtains also formed a part of the furniture of the mansions of the higher classes; and these were frequently adorned with gold and silver embroidery, thereby adding a large amount of splendour to the apartment of the wealthy, before unknown. Scarcely any but the windows of the rich were completely glazed much before the time of Canynges, although this luxury was supplied to our ancestors at what may appear to us but a trifling charge, namely threepence half-penny per square foot, which included the cost of glazing. This sum, however, apparently to us so unimportant, was equal to about four shillings and fourpence of the present value of money. In the time of our wealthy merchant, the painted or stained article was much in vogue in private houses, and the windows in the chief apartments were richly ornamented with coats of arms and other adornments of a similar character; yet the small gable ends of the houses in cities then constructed were too

circumscribed to allow the little light introduced through their narrow openings to be diminished by the influence of colours however brilliant in their appearance, or attractive in their disposition by the artist. The ground floor of the houses of wealthy men, which for its base at an earlier period had nothing but the bare earth well rammed down and rendered firm by pressure, now began to be paved with tiles both ornamented and plain. Above these the rooms were boarded, as we may imagine, but the floors were bare except where strewn with green rushes nicely plaited together so as to form a tolerably even surface, and not cast about at random like straw in a stable. Carpets, except in the residence of royalty, were then unknown, and did not come into general use until comparatively modern times,—rushes continuing to be used as the covering of the floors of halls and such like apartments in the palace of the monarch, the mansion of the noble, and the chambers of the middle classes of society, until the seventeenth century.

3. The bedstead used in the early part of the Middle Ages was of the kind known in modern days as a "stump bedstead," which by degrees was superseded by the half tester. From it depended long and full curtains to correspond with those disposed in other parts of the mansion, frequently made of silk richly embroidered by the ladies of

the family, which was then considered a fitting employment, not only for high-born dames, but it was regarded also as a very suitable recreation for king's daughters. Few houses, even those of the gentry, before the close of the fifteenth century, could boast of more than two beds for the accommodation of the inmates; and any possessing three or four, were considered to be furnished with this article of domestic comfort, after a very extraordinary if not extravagant fashion.

4. We may easily imagine that the other furniture with which the mansions even of the affluent were supplied in the Middle Ages, could not have been of a very costly character. The art of the cabinet maker was then nearly unknown, and the beautiful results of his skill which adorn the houses of the middle classes in more modern times were then wholly wanting. A few long boards rendered smooth by the application of the carpenter's plane, and placed upon tressels, formed the only tables then used by the wealthy; and their seats were also composed of the same rough material—being in fact, nothing more than stools and benches. Seats were constructed in the window recesses, as we still find them in houses of the last century; and these, as well as the other seats or forms, soon came to be covered with cushions; as were also the tables with drapery, for the table-cloth was always to be found in use, even among

the poorest of the people, being home made. With the exception of painted panels and the costly hangings already noticed, few indeed were the adornings bestowed on the interior of the houses of the wealthy in the Middle Ages. No libraries of books, no chairs, no pictures, then graced the stateliest rooms of the haughtiest of our aristocracy. No elegant pier or other looking glasses reflected the fair forms inhabiting the mansion of the noblest in the land; nor were even the most ordinary articles of furniture, now enjoyed by persons in very humble life, then to be found in the abodes of the wealthy.

5. Notwithstanding so much discomfort in his dwelling, the burgher merchant of the Middle Ages was a man of considerable importance, frequently assuming an air of consequence in the circle in which he moved, sporting costly attire and displaying as part of his every day costume, his gold ring and silver brooch. At home, his "cupborde" was adorned with his silver cup and other articles of place; and the mazer bowl of walnut wood edged with the same metal, graced the festive board. Pots, cups, saucers, porringers, and dishes of various sizes, made of the same costly material, were also included in the inventory of the wealthy; in short, so great was the amount of plate possessed by the opulent in the Middle Ages, that it appears incredible so much should

have existed; and yet these expensive indulgences seem to have been continually augmented throughout the whole of the period to which these remarks refer, until the value of this precious deposit in the dwellings of the rich was not only enormous, but absolutely incredible. Much of this was gilt and enamelled, and wrought in designs of great elegance and beauty, and with a large amount of artistic skill: many of these costly articles being adorned with gems and precious stones of great value.

6. In the culinary department mention is made by old writers of the huge wood fire being kindled upon a large hearth stone; and where chimnies were not constructed the smoke found egress through the doorway and windows. Chimnies were, however, built in almost all the houses in the Middle Ages, except perhaps the very meanest. Over the hearth stone the crook and hooks were suspended, and upon them hung the large brazen pot, in which the family porridge was prepared; and before the fire the spit was turned by a boy engaged for the purpose; turnspit dogs not having then come into fashion. Dishes of brass and pewter were ranged along the shelves, as they are in farm houses at the present day, and large mazer bowls, basins, dish-stands, the mortar and pestle, and salt cellars of the former metal, with wooden trenchers, and other requisites, were as common in

the kitchens of our ancestors as they are in those of our rural districts in modern times.

7. The above remarks upon the houses of the opulent in the Middle Ages, will enable the reader to form some idea of the "Great House," or, as it was also called in allusion to the colour predominant on its exterior, the "Rudde House," in which the second William Canynges resided in Redcliffe street, and also give some notion of the manner in which it was furnished. It seems to have occupied the site of an earlier building which Barrett, page 62, quoting Rowlie from a manuscript presented him by Chatterton, calls "St. Matthyas is Chapelle," and adds "Thys Chapelle was fyrst ybelden bye Alwarde a Saxonne ynne 867 & ys now (about the year 1460) made of the olde walles of the same a Free Maconnes Logge, of wyche same anme I unwordie & Mastre Canyges Brendren; ytte ys cleped Canynges place, Canynges Logge & Lyon Logge." This doubtful authority is not confirmed by any other writer and is therefore, fairly open to suspicion; yet it is remarkable, if correctly stated, that in digging the foundation for a floor cloth manufactory at the commencement of the present century, a discovery we are told was made of "an arched subterranean passage leading from the Hall, and a row of *Anglo Saxon columns*, forming the base of the exterior western front of the premises, facing the

river, upon Redcliffe Back." One great objection to this statement is the degree of credit to be attached to the fact that the columns mentioned were of the character spoken of; for, as I have had occasion to remark in my "Notes," it is so extremely uncertain what some writers mean by the architectural terms they make use of (especially those who do not thoroughly understand the subject,) that with some persons (and we may take Barret himself as an apt illustration of this fact,) Saxon is Gothic, or Norman, or Roman, and vice-versâ. Unless, therefore, the testimony of Evans as to the style of architecture, and who has chronicled the circumstance in his work under date of 1460, can be corroborated by some better authority, it is with me of little value.

8. In erecting the manufactory above mentioned, the entire western front of Canynges' residence seems to have been destroyed, including its "handsome tower," and the "four bay windows with the ornamented arched roofs" in this "very fine mansion," which, according to William of Wyrcestre, was "worthy of notice," for its architectural beauty. The east front was also destroyed at the same time. Its present western extremity appears to have formed part of a court yard, from which, through an arched passage having at each end a Perpendicular English doorway, a second square or court yard is entered, evidently of

smaller dimensions than it was originally. Nearly in a line with the passage just named, and on the opposite side of this second court, another passage is entered beneath a similar doorway: this conducts in a straight line into Redcliffe street. On the right hand is an apartment on the ground floor designated "the Monk's cellar," which, however, contains not a vestige of antiquity visible, nor do several other rooms leading out of the two passages in other directions. Over this "cellar" is a large chamber, now used as a printing office, but which tradition assigns as the banqueting room of the mansion, and that in which Canynges feasted the monarch before mentioned. Some of the gilding and rich colouring with which it was once adorned after the fashion of the time when it was erected, is still perceptible, and other evidences of its former splendour may also be traced in the windows, &c.

9. Descending the staircase into the passage, a doorway opposite leads into a large apartment now used as a shop. Dallaway describes this room as "the hall with its finely carved roof," which "appears to have been used as an oratory or chapel, probably for the Catholic service." In the centre of the roof is a louvre or lantern which formerly, with the aid of windows inserted in the walls of the structure, conveyed light to the entire interior. The vaulting is spanned by Perpen-

dicular English arches somewhat obtusely pointed; which clearly indicate the age of the building, and carry us back to the close of the fourteenth century or thereabouts, for the date of its erection, at which time the second William Canynges was but an infant at most. It appears therefore to have been built either by the first William Canynges near the close of his life, or by his son John, the father of the second William, immediately after that event took place. The will of the first William Canynges is dated 1396, soon after which he died; his son John was Mayor in 1398; and the second, William Canynges, was born as we have seen either in 1399 or 1400. John Canynges appears to have bequeathed this family residence to his son, the second William, who, at his death left it by will to Elizabeth the widow of his son, the third William Canynges. The first-born of the latter named Thomas, possessed it upon his mother's second marriage with John Depeden; and he sold it in 1484, but to whom does not appear. "In 1500," Dallaway says, "it was the residence of Thomas Brooke, the father of John Brooke, whose tomb inlaid with brass figures, is seen in Redcliffe Church. It was then called 'Canynges Place." From this time nothing of importance is recorded of it until the demolition of the west end as already stated. The lantern at the summit of the roof of the apartment now

called Canynges' chapel, appears to indicate that it was originally a hall; although it may possibly have been at a subsequent period used as a chapel. Behind it is a large room with a low ceiling now fitted up in the style of architecture prevailing in the time of James I.; the original floor of encaustic tiles remains in good preservation, and the chamber itself is by tradition designated "Canynges' Parlour." The entire premises are now occupied by Mr. C. T. Jefferies, Bookseller and Printer, who has laudably endeavoured to preserve whatever of the original structure has come down to modern times; and too much praise cannot be awarded him for the care he takes of every portion of the fabric which has been committed to his trust.

10. The welcome given to the king by William Canynges, and the feasting of the monarch in his house, has been already sufficiently noticed; but the particulars of the visit, so far as it regards the wealthy merchant's commercial affairs, (and upon the prosperous state of which the sovereign calculated he should exact, in conjunction with aids from other opulent traders in the old town, the forced loan before referred to,) require more than a merely passing remark.

11. It appears that on his arrival, Edward commenced taking stock of the port; that is, the number of vessels belonging to each individual

and their value was carefully ascertained; and then a certain amount, not mentioned, was assessed upon them to be paid to the King. Although the names and tonnage of the vessels possessed by other merchants at this time in Bristol are not recorded, those belonging to William Canynges have been noted by William of Wyrcestre, and described as follows:—The Mary Canynges, 400 tons burthen; the Mary Radelyf, 500 tons; Mary and John, 900 tons; the Galyot, 50 tons; the Cateryn, 140 tons; the Marybat, 220 tons; the Margyt de Tynly, 200 tons; the lytylle Nicholas, 140 tons; the Kateryn de *Boston*, 220 tons; the.....ship, in Iselond, (not Ireland, as Mr. Barrett calls it,) 160 tons; in the whole, 2853 tons of shipping, manned by 800 mariners. This "list" as Mr. Dallaway observes, (echoing Barrett, p. 170,) "requires some examination," and he argues against the probability of so large a ship as the "Mary and John," being able to enter the port of Bristol. He also quotes Anderson's work on Commerce to show that the vessels enumerated in it were not of British construction: that writer remarks that "although the larger ships had English names, there is a doubt whether we had ships of that size, of our own building. Canynges might have taken or purchased them from the Hanseatics, the Venetians, or Genoese, all of whom had ships of even a larger burthen, at that

time." This wealthy trader probably stood almost alone in Bristol in the number and tonnage of the vessels he possessed; for it was not until a later period that the merchants of this ancient port rose to such importance in the matter of shipping. After this time there was a great increase of vessels in Bristol, and many eminent names are mentioned in its annals, whose wealth must have at least equalled that of the illustrious man under notice.

12. William of Wyrcestre referring probably to this first visit of the King to Bristol says, that Canynges paid 3000 marks "pro pace suâ habendâ" that is, "to make his peace." No mention is made of the particular circumstances under which this money changed hands; and we are therefore left very much to conjecture as to the meaning of the language here made use of. Barrett tells us that "Edward IV. having his necessities amply supplied by William Canynges, granted him in lieu thereof, (a re-payment) 2470 tons of shipping free of all imports, as appears by the original instrument in being in the Exchequer. This explanation" he adds, "was made by one of the Judges, who reprimanded the sexton for abusing the memory of so worthy a citizen in the vulgar story." Seyer makes no mention of the circumstance; but Dallaway remarks that this expression may admit of two meanings—either that it was an acquittance in the Exchequer for the merchants' general contribution,

which as Mayor he was bound to receive; or, that it was a fine imposed upon himself for his former attachment to the House of Lancaster." Neither of the reasons here assigned are, however, by any means satisfactory. My own impression is that the payment was made to the King, either as the general amount contributed by the great body of merchants towards the exigencies of the monarch; or that it was in some way connected with obtaining during this sojourn of the sovereign in Bristol, "a confirmation of former charters and grants of further liberties," which were then procured through the instrumentality of William Canynges. (see Seyer, Vol. 2, p. 191)

13. The stay which king Edward made in Bristol at this time, although comparatively brief, appears to have abounded with incidents; not the least interesting of which is that relating to the romantic story of Sir Baldwin Fulford—a name immortalized by Chatterton in his well known poem entitled "The Bristowe Tragedie, or the Dethe of Syr Charles Bawdin." The cause of this legal murder may be gathered from Stow, who informs us that in 1460 "Richard Lord Riuers was sent to Sandwich, to keepe the towne and certain great shippes which lay there at anker: but when the Earle of Warwicke saw time conuenient, hee sent some of his men to Sandwich by night, the which tooke the said Lord Riuers and Anthonie

Wooduile his son in their beds, and led them ouer to Calcis, with all the great shippes saue one called Grace de Dieu, the which might not be had away because she was broke in the bottome. Sir Baudwine Fulford vndertooke on paine of loosing his head, that he would destroy the Earle of Warwicke, but when he hadde spent the King (Henry VI.) a thousand markes in money, he returned againe."

14. Notwithstanding this statement of Stow, we have no reason to believe that Sir Baldwin returned voluntarily, for a chronicler of the time says, that on the failure of his enterprise, the knight and his companions, in endeavouring to escape the vengeance of the new monarch, "were taken on the se sayling into Brytayne, for to arayse people ageyn kynge Edward." When captured they were lodged in Bristol castle for safe custody, and after some months confinement were brought to trial, "before Henry Erle of Essex, William Hastyngs, of Hastyngs, knt., Richard Chock, (a Judge) William Canynges, the Maire of the said towne of Bristowe, and Thomas Yong," when they were condemned to suffer death as traitors. To have been appointed by the king (Edward) one of the Commissioners to try Sir Baldwin, must have been a severe stroke to Canynges with his sympathies strongly in favour of the House of Lancaster; for be it remembered, this trial arose

out of a bond given by the knight to Henry VI., and not to the head of the House of York; and it was therefore a mere pretext on the part of king Edward to rid himself of an adversary. The offence (if any) of which Sir Baldwin had been guilty, was committed when Edward was chief minister to king Henry, and Warwick was a subject of the latter. The excuse for putting him to death was therefore grounded only on the articles agreed to between Henry and Edward, which settled the succession to the throne on the latter. Sir Baldwin had engaged to cut off Warwick an adherent of Edward's, who, when he came to the throne, imbrued his hands in the blood of the offender, as he had in that of many before him—simply because of his endeavour to fulfil an undertaking against himself (Edward,) but which was an act of duty he owed to his lawful sovereign. Edward broke the oath he had made to Henry by seizing the crown contrary to that most solemn engagement, and succeeded him in March 1461. The instrument which restored Sir Baldwin's son in blood, appears to convey the idea that the trial of the knight and his companions, did not take place until some few months afterwards and not long before Edward's visit to Bristol, for it says "before the vth day of September the first yere of your (Edward's) said reign, (he) was atteynt of dyvers tresons by him doon agenst your Highness, &c."

Some time evidently elapsed before the conviction of the so called traitors, and our Calendars say that "King Edward came to Bristol in September 1461, where by his order were beheaded (on the 9th of that month,) Sir Baldwin Fulford, knight; and two Esquires,—Bright and John Haysant." The execution of these unfortunate men certainly did not take place until the close of Edward's visit, for the record adds "and the same day the king departed;"—probably the trial itself was then but just concluded. Their heads "were caryed to Exeter, and were sette upon the Castelle gate." The monarch, we are told, stood at the east window of the church of St. Ewen to see the culprits pass by to the place of their decapitation, and to exult over their downfall. This statement I regard as a pure fiction; for however cruel and vindictive may have been the disposition of Edward, and however merciless was his conduct to his enemies when they fell into his power, he surely would not have so far forgotten the dignity of his position, as to witness in such close proximity, a procession which conveyed a brave man to death, and thus aggravate the last moments of his victim!

15. The heirs of Sir Baldwin Fulford were subsequently restored to their forfeited possessions by "An Act passed in 7. Edward IV. for the restitution in blood and estate of Thomas Fulford,

knight, eldest son of Sir Baldewyn Fulford, late of Fulford, in the county of Devon, knight."

16. It has already been remarked that William Canynges was a sincere supporter of the church of Rome; and of this he gave undeniable proof in the year 1465. Barrett at page 571 of his history, quotes an original latin deed in his possession which he says "shews his (Canynges) pious and charitable disposition." It relates to "a grant of money to the friers minors of Bristol for their better support," and is couched in the following terms:—"Be it known unto all men, that the 29th of November in the year 1465, we the guardian and friers minor all of the convent of Bristol there dwelling, considering the affection of pure devotion of the worshipful man William Canynges which he daily shews to the order of our seraphick father St. Francis and especially to our convent aforesaid in exhibiting his alms and manifold benefits long since conferred upon us, and in future to be bestowed—for out of his pious charity for the relief of the said convent he has faithfully given and paid to the same convent twenty pounds on the year and day aforementioned. —By tenor of these presents with licence of Frier Thomas Radnor then minister of England we have promised and granted to the said William Canynges and Joanna his wife that their names be inscribed in the gift-book (datario) of our convent

among the chief benefactors of the said convent, and that they be recommended as the custom is; and we have further promised and granted to the said William Canynges and Joanna his wife, that their obit the second festival next after St. Peter every year in the church of our said convent shall be solemnly celebrated with exequiis mortuorum and mass of requiem by note for the soul of the said William Canynges and Joanna his wife, of John Canynges and Joanna his wife father and mother of the said William Canynges, of John Milton and Joanna his wife and for the souls for whom it is bound to pray and for all the faithful departed, and since from the testimony of Christ in the gospel, the workman is worthy of his hire the aforesaid William loving his own soul and mindful of the words of Christ hath ordained and appointed by himself, his heirs and executors to the brothers of the said convent every year for ever on the day aforesaid as well in his life as after his death in recompence of their labours One quarter of an ox of the value of forty pence four quarters of a good sheep of the price and value of sixteen pence English money and forty pence in pure money to be given for bread and ale; that therefore the said promise and grant may be so confirmed as not to be broken, I Frier Thomas minister of England in virtue of that holy obedience to all the guardians and friers of the

aforementioned convent present and future do command that they solemnly celebrate as well in their life time as after their death when it comes the exequies for the dead with mass of requiem every year on the said day for the souls of the said William and Joanna his wife and of all the above mentioned and moreover that they cause this to be read in the chapter-house by the friers there gathered together once in the year namely on the vigil or day of nativity of the blessed St. Francis: In witness of this grant and promise the seal of my office together with the seal of the keeper of the custody of Bristol and convent of Bristol is openly appendant—Done, read and sealed at Bristol before the friers of the aforementioned convent in their chapter-house met the day and year above written."

17. We have now arrived at the most interesting portion of the life of the second William Canynges, which commences with the year 1466; when for the fifth and last time he occupied the civic chair of his native town as its chief magistrate. During his tenure of office on this occasion the following rules for the governance of its merchants was ordained:—

"1 The mayor and council, fifteen days after Michaelmas, were to call a council, and choose a person that had been mayor or sheriff, to be master of the society of merchants, and to choose two

merchants for wardens, and two beadles, who were to officiate as brokers, and be attendant during a year upon the master and wardens, &c.

"2. The master and society to have the Chapel, and the draught chamber at Spicer's-hall, to assemble in, paying twenty shillings a year..

"3. All merchants to attend, if in town, upon summons, or to pay one pound of wax to the master and society.

"4. All rules for selling to strangers of any of the *four merchandizes*, to be kept on pain of twenty shillings for every default: one half to be paid to the society, and the other to the corporation chamber.

"5. No merchant to sell goods to any stranger under the regulated price, under a penalty of twenty shillings, to be disposed of as above mentioned.

"6. If any merchant be in distress, he must apply to the wardens or beadles, declaring the same; and if they provide not a remedy in three days, then the merchant burgess shall be set at liberty to dispose of any of his four merchandizes at his pleasure."

18. By the observance of these ordinances, which were evidently those of a close corporation or guild, the merchants of Bristol, in the latter part of the Middle Ages, rose to great eminence, notwithstanding the ravages committed throughout

many parts of England by the contentions between the rival Houses of York and Lancaster. Bristol was comparatively free from the devastating scourge of civil war during the whole of that period, and her merchants and manufacturers, appear to have pursued their lucrative callings with great activity and success. To the enterprising traders of the fifteenth century, those of an after time were indebted for much of their prosperity; and their successors of the present day owe in a large degree the position they occupy among the most opulent and influential merchants in the empire.

19. In this year also Canynges again evidenced his love of Mother Church, as appears by the following which occurs among the "City Benefactions," recorded by Barrett:—

"1466.	William Canynges gave by deed for divine offices in Redcliffe Church.....	340	0	0
	And in plate to the said Church.....	160	0	0
	Vested in the vicar and proctors of Redcliffe.—	£500	0	0"

To this donation I shall have occasion to refer at greater length when treating of the structure named in the bequest.

20. The Mayor's Calendar, by Robert Ricaut, preserved in the archives of the Corporation, under date of 1467, says "This yere the said William Canynges Maire shulde have be (been) maired (married) by the Kyng our Souverain Lord com-

andement as it was saide Wherefore the said Canynges gave up the Worlde and in all haste toke ordirs upon hym of the gode Bisshop of Worcestre called Carpynter, and was made Preest and sange his furst Masse at our Lady of Redclif the yere folowyng R Jakys beeng Maire at Whitsontide and after that he was Dean of Westbury certein yeers & dececed & was buried Worshipfully at Redeclif by his Wife in the south ende of the Medyll yle of the saide Churche."

21. This statement appears to intimate, as I understand it, that king Edward was at Bristol at the date of the entry in the Calendar; but no mention is made of it by any local author or other chronicler; and he rather appears to me to have been at that time in London, much engaged in counteracting the intrigues of his enemies, who just then were particularly troublesome. Moreover, while mention is made in our annals of letters patent from the King, granting certain privileges to the Queen "out of the firm of our town of Bristoll, to be received by her as well by the hands of the Mayor and Commonalty," nothing is said about the monarch's presence, nor is he named in any other connection than in relation to these grants. The probability is that Edward was, as already intimated, with his consort and the court, in the metropolis. Mr. Dallaway regards the whole story as a silly tradition; and in the

absence of evidence corroborative of that of the old Town Clerk, the subject may be dismissed; as no *contemporary* chronicler makes any mention of the circumstance.

22. From the apparent piety of Canynges as viewed in the various phases of his character presented to us, in the course of his career, there can be little doubt that on the death of his wife, for whom he seems to have cherished a very fond remembrance, he seriously meditated putting into practice, a resolution formed on the decease of his children at an earlier period, should he become a widower; namely, that of retiring, as many a wealthy man before him had done towards the close of life, to a convent, there to spend the residue of his days in peaceful contemplation on the vanity of the present life, and in making a suitable preparation, according to the notions of his Church, for a more enduring state of existence, when the transitory scenes of earth had passed away. No such haste as that stated in Ricaut's Calendar stimulated Canynges in adopting the life of a monk; for to this his mind in all probability early inclined. A lengthened and intimate acquaintance with his friend and Confessor, John Carpenter, subsequently Bishop of Worcester, doubtless matured religious sentiment in the breast of the rich merchant, and induced him at length to take the final step which consigned him to the monot-

onous inanity of cloistered life. Canynges' resolve could not have been hastily formed, because the settlement of his extensive mercantile matters demanded consideration; and must have occupied much time in arranging their disposition. No man engaged as he had been for so many years, could have lightly treated an affair of so much importance; and therefore haste in its settlement was not probable with a "grave and worshipful man," such as we may imagine Canynges to have been. He was then bordering on the three score years and ten allotted to man's sojourn upon earth; and too wise and prudent to be hurried into an act by sudden excitement—for by such resolve he became dead to the world, and was for ever severed from its endearments. In conformity therefore with a long cherished desire, he entered upon his novitiate in the College at Westbury on Trym in the vicinity of the town which gave him birth. He appears to have been ordained Acolyte, the first step towards the priestly office, September 19th, 1467. On the 2nd of April in the following year he was raised to be deacon; and he received his consecration at Northwick, in the parish of Claines, in the county of Worcester. On the 16th of the same month, and in the same year, he became priest "*ad titulum patrimonii sui*,"—an expression which implies that this dignity was his after, or according to the right or title of his

patrimony, from which we may infer that it was a family living. This fact will account for his rapid progress towards the priestly vocation, and it appears a much more rational way of doing so, than to echo, as many have done, the statement that it was caused by his anxiety to avoid a marriage with a damsel chosen for him from among the concubines of that unprincipled profligate, king Edward IV. In less than seven months Canynges had passed through all the minor offices of the Church, and had become a priest at the date last mentioned; his first mass having been performed in St. Mary Redcliffe. When he became Dean of Westbury, a piece of preferment in the gift of his friend Bishop Carpenter, we are not informed. Henry Sampson succeeded to that dignity in 1458; but further than this nothing is recorded of him: it is not improbable, however, that he died in 1468; at which time we find Canynges in possession of that post of honour. Here he spent the residue of his days in calm and quiet seclusion, free from the cares of secular occupations, and the turmoil incident to the ordinary business of every day life in connection with a worldly calling.

23. The eldest surviving brother of the second William Canynges, and to whom reference has been already made, was Thomas Canynges who served the office of Sheriff of London in 1450,

when the insurrection in Kent under the leadership of Jack Cade broke out. On its suppression, Cade, who had endeavoured to conceal himself, was pursued and taken in a garden at Hothfield in Sussex, by Alexander Eden, a Kentish gentleman, 1000 marks having been offered for him dead or alive. The better to secure his prey, Eden killed Cade, and having cast his body into a cart, he conveyed it to London, and received the reward promised. Subsequently the head was severed from the trunk, and the latter divided into four quarters, which were sent to different parts of the kingdom to be exposed, according to the barbarous custom of the times, in an elevated position, to feast the morbid curiosity of the vulgar. Many of his partisans were also treated in the same manner. With the cost of this proceeding the Sheriffs of London were charged; and in relation to it Thomas Canynges and his colleague Wylliyam Hulyn addressed the following letter of application to the king, Henry VI., soliciting to be remunerated for their trouble, and reimbursed their expenses consequent upon the rebellion.

24. After reciting the writs, by the authority of which the bodies and heads of the traitors had been disposed of, they proceed thus—"And by another of your seyd writtes, to drawe the body of a grete traytour, namyng himself Mortymer (Cade) uppon an hurdull, by the stretes of your

Citie of London, and his head to set on London Brugge (Bridge.) And by another of your seyd writtes to send and delyuer a quarter of the seyd traytour called Mortymer to the Constables of the Hundred of Blakheth. And by another of your seyd writtes, to send and delyuer another quarter of the said traytour called Mortymer, to the Maire and Sheriffes of the citie of Norwich. And by another, to send and delyuer another quarter of the same traytour to the Maire of the Citie of Salisbury. And another quarter of the same traytour to the bailiffs of the towne of Gloucestre." They add to this statement, that the orders thus executed by them had involved much expense, and assign as the reason for it, "that unneth any persones durst nor wolde take upon hem the carridge of the seyd hed and quarters, for doute of her lives." (Ellis's Letters, Second Series, vol. i. p. 112.)

25. In the year 1456, Thomas Canynges was elected to the honourable post of Lord Mayor of London, and at a time when much difficulty was experienced in sustaining the dignity, in consequence of the convulsed state of the nation by reason of the misgovernment of the King and his advisers. Many tumults occurred in London during his mayoralty, and numerous outrages were committed by the populace. On one occasion the citizens were insulted by the men residing in the liberty of St. Martins-le-Grand, and the latter

having taken refuge within the monastery there situated, it was forced by the Lord Mayor and his brother magistrates, and the rioters were seized; a course of proceeding peculiarly obnoxious to the ecclesiastics who, through the dean of Westminster, complained of it as a violation of monastic privileges. In this outrage an Italian was wounded by a young English mercer, who was apprehended, but he was soon released by the mob who rescued him, and by way of retaliation the rioters plundered the residences of some Italian merchants, and much blood was shed before the tumult could be subdued. Suspecting the Yorkists to have fomented this quarrel, the Queen (Margaret) sent the Dukes of Exeter and Buckingham, with others empowered by a special commission to assist the magistrates in trying the offenders; but so riotous were the proceedings of the mob that the commissioners were intimidated, and fearing the consequences of their presence in the midst of an infuriated people, they withdrew from the city. By a proper exercise of authority, and a prudent execution of his high functions, the Lord Mayor, Thomas Canynges, restored order and confidence. Firm and decisive, yet calm and conciliatory in his bearing towards the tumultuous assemblage, he seems to have soothed their disturbed passions by the potency of a kind and gentle spirit, and quelled them into submission by a dignified, per-

suasive eloquence, and the exhibition of a promptitude and vigour in action suited to the emergency. We may imagine too that London's chief magistrate was then popular among the lovers of order and good government, although little can be said in praise of that under which he wielded authority, and executed the very important duties of his office. To effect the peaceful return of the populace to their duty as good subjects, required all the prudence and sagacity he was master of; yet in the hour of danger he was found equal to the task; he appeased the fury of the mob, stayed the violence of popular outbreak, and dispersed to their homes the multitudes who had but just before been clamouring for blood; so that the commissioners returned to their duty; and several of the leaders in these outrages suffered the penalty of the law for their offences.

26. From this Thomas Canynges, Lord Mayor of London, (who was also Master of the Grocer's Company, in 1466,) descended the Canynges of Foxcote, and of Garvagh; see Pedigrees, Tables II. and III. John Canynges the father of the second William and Thomas the Lord Mayor, had also a son named after himself, but who died in his infancy. Also three daughters, Agnes, Julian, and Margaret, of whom no further mention is made than that they were left under guardianship in their father's will.

27. Pedigree of the Canynges' Family.

Table II.

Thomas Canynges, Lord Mayor of London, in 1456. = Agnes Salmon, who inherited Foxcote, Warwickshire, in the reign of Henry VI

Richard Canninge of Foxcote. = Mary, daughter of Humphrey Cumpton.

1. Thomas Canninge of Foxcote. = Jane, daughter of Richard Boughton of Cundecot, co. of Gloucester.

2. John Canninge of Todenham, married a daughter of——Savage of Bengworth, co. Worcester, and founded that branch of the family, which continued there for several generations

1. Richard Canninge of Foxcote. = Elizabeth daughter of Richard Petty of Elmington.

2. George Canninge married Sybil daughter of Reeves James of Broxley, co. Worcester.

3. William. 4. Henry. 5. Thomas.

1. Jane. 2. Mary

Mary, daughter of William Sambache of Broadway, co. Worcester. 1st Wife. = 1 Richard Canninge of Foxcote. = Jane, daughter of Edward Porter of Ashton co. Gloucester. 2nd Wife.

2 Thomas 3 William 4 Isaac

5 Edward (1) 6 Robert 7 Paul (2)

8 George Canninge of Barton-on-the-Heath and of Garvagh see Table III.

Anne, daughter and heir of Thomas Haywood of Bradforton, 1st wife. = 1 William Canninge of Foxcote Patron of the living of Bradforton 1632. = Mary, daughter of Edward Porter of Ashton co. Gloucester, and sister of Sir Endymion Porter. 2nd wife.

2 Richard Canninge. = Jane, daughter of—Stafford co. Stafford.

1 Anne wife of Thomas Jacobs.

2 Eleanor wife of John Walkerley of Sudbury, co. Suffolk.

1. Richard Canninge of Foxcote. = Grace, daughter of Edward Fowler, of St Thomas, co. Stafford.

2. Thomas 3. William

Richard Canning living in 1622.

1. William (3) 2. Nicholas ob. s. p.

3. Richard Canning of Foxcote, living in reign of Charles II. = Joanna, daughter of Charles Busby, brother of Sir John Busby, knt., of Addington, co. Bucks, died 1685. (4)

4. John. 5. Thomas. (6)

Francis Canning of Foxcote, living in 1720. = Apolonia, daughter, and at length sole heir of Robert Barker, of Montewecke, co. Essex (5)

1. Francis Canning of Foxcote. = Mary, daughter of John Petre, of Fidlers, co. Essex. (7)

2. Richard Canning

Anne, wife of——Greenward of Bruers Norton, co Oxon.

1. Francis Canning of Foxcote = Catherine, daughter of Thomas Giffard, of Chillington.

2 Robert, ob. 1769 3 John, ob. 1751 4. Edward; all s. p.

5 Thomas Canning = Mary, daughter of Michael Blount of Maple Durham.

1. Ann (8) 2. Mary

1. Francis Canning of Foxcote, married Jane daughter of Ferdinand Huddleston of Sawston, co Cambridge, ob. s. p.

Catherine, daughter of John Berkeley of Spetchley, co. Worc. ob. s. p. in Feb. 1823. 1st wife. = 2 Robert Canning of Foxcote born in 1773, a magistrate and dep. lieutenant, co Glouc, also High Sheriff in 1832. ob. Aug. 15th, 1843. = Maria 2nd daughter and co-heir of the Rev Joseph Bonner Cherton of Longford House, co. Glouc. 2nd wife.

3 John (9)

1. Thomas ob. in 1824 s. p. 2 Edward, married Louisa, daughter of William Spencer 2nd son of Lord Charles Spencer.

1. Francis-Robert born Aug 10th 1829 ob. in Dec. following

2. Robert-Francis born Jany. 23rd 1831 ob. Jany following

28. Notes to Table II. Canynges of Foxcote. Co. Warwick.

These lands came into this family by marriage with an heir-female more than four centuries ago, and have descended since uninterruptedly through heirs-male.

"Jeffery le Marshall took to wife Mary the daughter and heir of John Bridport of Bridport, co. Dorset, and had by her Gilbert le Marshall; and he had issue two sons, Simon and Gilbert, who both left each a daughter, their heirs. Maud the daughter of Simon le Marshall, married John Archard, temp. H. 5. and Eustachia, the daughter and heir of Gilbert le Marshall, married John Salmon, son and heir of Thomas Salmon, of Cheddre, temp. H. 4. who, in her right, became inheritor of le Marshall's lands here at Foxcott. Maud, sometime the wife of John Archard, having, *in pura viduitate sua*, by her Deed bearing date 7 H. 5. released to this John Salmon, and Eustachia his wife, and to the heirs of their bodies between them lawfully begotten, all her claim, title and interest to all her lands and inheritances here. This John Salmon had by his wife Eustachia only two daughters their heirs. Agnes married to Thomas Canning, and Maud to Edmund Dalby. But it seems the lands here at Foxcott came to Canning. For by a Deed, bearing date temp. H. 6. Eustachia, sometime the wife of John Salmon, and daughter and heir of Gilbert le Marshall, did *in pura viduitate sua*, release all her claim, title, and interest to all her lands and inheritances, in Foxcott, to Thomas Canning, and Agnes his wife, and the heirs of their Bodies between them lawfully begotten; whose descendants have been ever since possessed hereof, and have here resided." (Dugdale's Warw. p. 634.)

(1.) Thomas Canninge is said to have been a merchant of Bristol, but I find no mention of his name in connection with it—he may possibly be the ancestor of Thomas Canning, Esq., a merchant still residing in the city. William Canning was a merchant of London; Isaac was a Turkey Merchant, and died at Constantinople.

(2.) Paul Canning was Ambassador to the great Mogul, and died at Agra.

(3.) This William Canninge is said (Harl. M.S. 1542, fo. 78 ·) to have been of Elsenham, com. Essex, anno 1634, and his father "*William* Cannyng of Foxcote and of London, Merchant, was free of the Ironmongers." The latter, it is stated by the same authority, was the *second* son

of Richard Cannyng of Foxcote; but both the name of the father and the position occupied by the son in relation to his parent, are probably erroneous.

The subject of this note appears both by the M.S. above cited, as well as other authorities, to have married Martha, daughter of George Etheridge of Maidenhead, com. Berks, and of London. About the time of the Restoration or soon after, he purchased the Rectory of Elsenham. He had a son George and three others who died without issue; also two daughters Mary and Martha. George the eldest son married Elizabeth, daughter of John Buck, of Ugley, and had four sons, John, George of Molehall in Depden, William and Thomas; and a daughter Martha, wife of Benjamin Guyver, of Priors Hall, in Wydington. John, the eldest son, entered the Church, and took his degree of B.A. at Queen's College, Cambridge, in 1676; and in 1678 he was presented by his father to the Vicarage of Elsenham. He married Mary, daughter of John Wheeler, of Gervase Court, Worcestershire, and had by her, George, Mary and Ann, who all died unmarried. He had another daughter named Mary, who married Joseph Eves, and afterwards John Howlet. John Canning died about the year 1731. Another John Canning, who took his degree of B.A. in 1750 at St. John's College, Cambridge, was presented to the living of Elsenham on the 7th of March, 1757; but from what branch of the family he came does not appear.

Arms. Argent, three negroes' heads couped proper, escarsioned sable and argent.

(4.) In the body of the parish church of Ilmington, Warwickshire, on a flat stone is the following epitaph:—

"In memoria Æterna erit Justus.

Under this stone lyeth the Body's of Johanna, the wife of Richard Canning of Foxcoate, Gent. who departed this life the 27th of April, 1685."

(5.) On the same stone is inscribed:—

"And also of Apolonia, the wife of Francis Canning, Gent. who departed this life the 24th of January, 1712.

Requiescant in pace."

On the right side are the Cannings arms impaling three arrows, on a chief three mullets. On the left side are the Cannings arms impaling barry of eight; over all a bend.

(6.) On another large stone near the above are the Cannings arms

impaling on a chevron between three fleur-de-lis, as many estoiles; and this inscription :—

"Here lyeth the Body of Thomas Canning, Gent. one of the younger sonnes of Richard Canning of Foxcoate, within this Parish, Gent. who marryed Mary, the daughter of Thomas Sheppard of Long Compton, Gent.; he departed this life the 26th of July 1716. Cujus Animæ propitietur Deus.

Arms. Three blackmoors heads.

(7.) Mary Petre, wife of the second Francis Canning of Foxcote, became, by the death of her brothers without issue, sole heir to her father, who was fourth in descent from John the fourth son of William second lord Petre, of Writtle; by Catherine, daughter of Edward, Earl of Worcester.

By this marriage the Cannings of Foxcote eventually became the representatives of several ancient families. They possessed the estates of Foxcote and Stoke, with the manor of Ilmington, all in Warwickshire: Priors Ditton and Middleton in Shropshire; and Hartpury, co. Gloucester.

(8.) Ann, eldest daughter of the second Francis Canning, born in 1748, was superior of the English Augustin nuns at Paris during the French Revolution. Owing to her unparalleled fortitude, and the profound respect she was held in, even by some of the chief actors during the reign of terror, she was able to preserve her convent, (the only one not suppressed in France,) from confiscation, and her nuns from the guillotine. Many of the families of the first nobility of France were indebted to her for essential services rendered them during and after the revolution. She died March 9th, 1820, universally beloved and regretted.

(9.) This gentleman was a major in the native Bengal Infanty. He died September 1st, 1824, leaving by Mary-Anne, his wife, daughter of Sir John Randall Meridyth, bart. of Newtown, co. Meath, two daughters, viz:—Eliza-Minto, and Julia-Matilda.

The high respectability of the Cannings of Foxcote is apparent from the above relation of their alliances; and the branch which follows in Table III, will show the importance to the country at large, of the descendants of this family through the last and present generations.

29 Pedigree of the Canynges' Family. Table III.

George Canninge, the eighth son of the second Richard Canninge of Foxcote, was of Barton-on-the-Heath. He obtained a grant of the manor of Garvagh, co. Londonderry from Queen Elizabeth, and settled there ob. 1616 — Anne, daughter of Gilbert Walker, of Walford, co. Worcester.

William Canninge of Garvagh.

George Canninge of Garvagh.

George Canninge of Garvagh lieutenant colonel of the Londonderry Militia. — Abigail, 4th daughter of Robert Stratford of Baltinglass, M.P. for the county of Wicklow in 1662, and aunt of John, 1st earl of Aldborough.

Stratford Canning, of Garvagh only son, ob. September 13th, 1775. — Letitia, daughter and heiress of Obadiah Newburgh, of Ballyhouse, co. Cavan.

1. George Canning ob. in 1771. (1)
2. Paul Canning of Garvagh, ob. in 1780.
Jane, daughter of Conway Spencer, co. Antrim.
3. Stratford Canning. (2)
1. Mary (3)
2. Elizabeth

George Canning, born Apr. 11th 1770 ob. August 12th, 1828, aged 57 years. (4) — Joan, daughter of General Scott created Viscountess Canning July, 1829, with remainder to her heirs male by her deceased husband. — Georgiana, 4th daughter of Robert, 1st Marquess of Londonderry, married 13th July 1803, ob. 17th Nov. 1804, s. p. 1st wife. — George Canning only son, born 15th Nov. 1773, Created Baron Garvagh 28th Oct. 1818. — Charlotte-Isabella eldest daughter of Henry Bonham of Titness Park Berks. M.P.

1. George-Charles ob. in 1820.
2. William-Pitt Canning. (5)
3. Charles-John born Dec. 15th, 1812; now Viscount Canning.
Harriet married 1825 to Ulick - John Marquess of Clanricarde.
Charles-Henry-Spencer-George, born 19th March 1826.
Emmeline-Rosabelle

30. Notes to Table III Canynges of Garvagh, Co. Londonderry.

(1.) This gentleman, who was author of a volume of Poems, incurred the displeasure of his father by an improvident marriage, and was disinherited. He died in 1771, leaving an only child then an infant.

(2.) Stratford Canning, an eminent London merchant died in 1787, leaving, besides other children, a son named after himself—the present Right Honourable Lord Viscount Stratford-de-Redcliffe—so created April 24th, 1852. For the following particulars of this celebrated nobleman, I am indebted to "The Illustrated London News" for Sept. 24th, 1853.

Viscount Stratford-de-Redcliffe—better known throughout the old and

new worlds as Stratford Canning—was sent to Eton in 1796, where he arrived at the highest honours; going out of that venerable seat of learning as "captain." His education was finished at King's College, Cambridge.

In the interval, however, he had already entered the diplomatic service. In 1807 he was appointed précis writer to his cousin the illustrious George Canning, who was then Foreign Secretary; and, in the same year (conjointly with the present Earl of Mornington) accompanied Mr. Merry's special mission to Denmark and Sweden, as secretary. In 1808 he was despatched as secretary to Mr. Adair's special mission to the Dardanelles, for the purpose of negociating terms of peace between this country and the Porte. In the following April Mr. Stratford Canning, was appointed secretary to the Embassy at Constantinople; and on the recall of Mr. Adair, in 1810, was accredited Minister Plenipotentiary at that Court. In this important post he remained till 1812, when, after successfully mediating on the part of the British Government towards the peace of Bucharest between the Porte and Russia, he returned home. In the brief interval of repose from public duties which he now enjoyed, he took the degrees of B.A. and M.A. at Cambridge.

In 1814 the young diplomatist was appointed Envoy to Switzerland, and assisted in the formation of the Treaty of Alliance of the Nineteen Cantons, which became the basis of their Federal compact. He also attended, by order, at the Congress of Vienna, with a view to assisting at the settlement of this important question. In 1820, having been created a Privy Councillor, he was accredited Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States of America, where he remained three years. In November, 1823, having in the meantime returned to England, he was appointed Plenipotentiary for negociating with the United States; and, as the result of his labours a treaty was drawn up, comprising all the questions in dispute, including that of the North-Western Boundary; but which was not eventually ratified.

At the end of 1824 Mr. S. Canning was sent to St. Petersburg on a special mission, having reference to the Greek troubles; having a mission also, to the Emperor of Austria, on his way. After accomplishing the duties of these missions he proceeded to Constantinople, having been appointed Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to that court, on the 10th of October, 1825. Here he lost no opportunity of negociating

with the Sultan in favour of the Greek nation, but without effect: the obdurate Sultan could pardon, but would not treat with men whom he looked upon as his slaves. In 1827 Mr. S. Canning returned temporarily to England; and, in the month of July in that year, was signed the treaty of London, by which the three great powers, England, France, and Russia, agreed to tender to the Porte their mediating offices towards putting an end to the internal war, and establishing the relations which ought to exist between it and the Greek people; and, in the event of such tender of mediation being rejected, to interfere by force in the matter. The reply of the Porte was one of refusal, and the most active measures of coercion followed upon it. The battle of Navarino took place in September, 1827, and the allied powers resolved to take the Greek nation under their protection, and consulted upon the propriety and means of establishing it as an independent state. Mr. S. Canning, on the part of his Government, took an active part in the inquiries and deliberations necessary towards this result. In 1828 he went on a special mission to Greece; and in 1828-9, took part in the special conferences held at Paris for the formation of the Greek Monarchy; but the boundaries of the new Kingdom not being settled according to his recommendation, he resigned the post of Ambassador to the Porte; the king, at the same time, marking his appreciation of his Excellency's distinguished merit, by conferring upon him the order of Grand Cross of the Bath.

In October, 1831 (having in the meantime sat in Parliament for the borough of Old Sarum,) Sir Stratford Canning was despatched on a special mission to the Ottoman Porte, for the purpose of treating upon the question of the boundary of the future kingdom of Greece, which eventually was settled in accordance with the recommendations made by him in 1829. The result was the treaty of London of the 7th May, 1832, between the three Powers, ratified by Bavaria on the 27th of the same month, and upon the basis of which Prince Otho, of Bavaria, accepted and ascended the Greek Throne.

In 1832 Sir Stratford Canning was deputed upon a special mission to the Courts of Madrid and Lisbon, the latter of which, however, he did not visit. In 1833 he was elected to Parliament for Stockbridge, and in 1835 for Lyme Regis. In 1836, and again in 1841, he was offered the Governorship of Canada, but on both occasions declined it. In the latter year he was appointed Ambassador (for the third time) to the Porte; a post which, under successive Ministries he has held ever since.

In the winter of 1847, being on his return from a temporary leave of absence in England, Sir Stratford Canning was accredited on a special mission to Switzerland, with a view to the adjustment of the differences which had arisen between the Federal Government at Berne and the provinces denominating themselves the Sonderbund. The expressions of pride and satisfaction with which the announcement of this appointment was greeted by men of all parties in Switzerland, offered the best evidence of the respect in which the diplomatic character of the sponsor of their constitution was held by them; and showed that the very appointment was considered a guarantee against the united hostility of some of the principal powers in Europe, which, there can be no doubt, were bent upon the destruction of the Swiss independence. On his arrival at Berne, Sir Stratford laid down terms for a final settlement of the disputes between the two parties, which were at once accepted and acted upon; together with suggestions as to future policy, which, if they had also been acted upon, would have prevented all the internal troubles which have since taken place in Switzerland—sometimes to the endangerment of its independence.

The policy of Lord Stratford-de-Redcliffe, in Turkey, has been manly and consistent. Viewing the integrity of the Ottoman power to be essential to the permanent relations of Europe; having learned, also, to respect that power, in consideration of the strenuous efforts towards reform and regeneration, which during a course of years it has been making with more or less success, he has given a firm support to the independent policy of the Porte, against the attacks and machinations of its avowed enemy, Russia. Shrewd to detect the crooked schemes of our northern rival, he has met them, when discovered, with the bold straightforward front which becomes an Englishman and a gentleman. Can it be wondered at, therefore, that his name is unsavory at St. Petersburg, and that the slavish emissaries of the Czar, when they come in contact with him, quail and writhe before him? Nor will they soon forget his strenuous objection to the infraction of the neutrality of the Porte by the Russians in crossing the Danubian provinces towards the close of the Hungarian war in 1849; nor his gallant support of the Sultan in his refusal to deliver up the unfortunate Hungarians who had taken refuge in the Turkish territory, after being betrayed by the treason of the infamous Gorgey. Lord Stratford-de-Redcliffe is eminently honest-hearted, and in the dispute still pending between the Porte and the court of Russia, he has given to the former the full extent of the moral support at his command, without in any way

compromising his Government beyond the point to which his instructions would warrant him. Of his promptitude on occasions of unexpected emergency—of his impatience of anything like neglect of duty, or unfair dealing, there are many who can speak; yet all can bear witness to the dignity and considerateness of conduct with which he meets the difficulty, whatever it may be.

Independently of the more important political questions bearing upon European relations, there have been very many occasions on which Lord Stratford-de-Redcliffe has been the means of promoting the ends of humanity, religious freedom, and intellectual progress. Owing to his successful representations, the infliction of torture was prohibited in the Turkish dominions; to him is due the abolition of the penalty of death, formerly inflicted upon renegades—that is, Christians who, having once embraced the Mahomedan belief, reverted to Christianity; to him is due the appointment of the Mixed Courts for the trial of civil and criminal causes in which Europeans are concerned, and the reception therein of the testimony of Christians upon an equal footing with that of Mahomedans; he also procured in 1845 a firman for the establishment of the first Protestant chapel in the British Consulate at Jerusalem; and within the present year another firman, establishing the religious and political freedom of all descriptions of Protestants throughout the Turkish Empire—for which he received a memorial of thanks from the congregationalists, or Independent Protestants a few weeks ago.

To scientific discovery his lordship has also lent his valuable aid. In 1845, when Layard could not find a Government, or scientific body, or public to second his aspirations for the discovery of ancient Nineveh, Lord Stratford-de-Redcliffe authorized and enabled him to proceed upon his researches at his own risk and expence. In 1847 those interesting relics the Budrum marbles, being (as supposed) the remains of the mausoleum erected at Halicarnassus, by Artemesia, Queen of Caria, to her husband, Mausolus, were obtained by his lordship, by firman from the Porte, and presented by him to the British Museum.

Viscount Stratford-de-Redcliffe married first in 1816, Harriet, the daughter of Thomas Raikes, Esq., Governor of the Bank of England (who died 1817; and secondly, in 1825, Elizabeth Charlotte, daughter of James Alexander, Esq., of Summer Hill, near Tunbridge, Kent, and niece of the Earl of Caledon.

"Lord Stratford-de-Redcliffe may be as justly proud of the illustrious

origin of his house, as any of the noble families whose founders came over with the Conqueror."

(3.) Mary, eldest daughter, was married to the Rev. Henry Bernard, son of William, Lord Bishop of Londonderry; and Elizabeth, her younger sister to Westby Perceval, Esq.

(4) This gentleman, subsequently the illustrious George Canning, Prime Minister of England, was left an orphan by the death of his father, when he was but twelve months old. By the liberality of his uncle, Mr. Paul Canning, he was at a proper age sent to Eton, where he gave early proofs of superior talent, but these were developed more fully at Christ Church College, Oxford, which he entered in his 18th year—having nearly two years previously become an author, by contributing several papers to a periodical called the "Microcosm," which, in conjunction with some of his schoolfellows at Eton, he projected. "The lively and acute character of his mind, his sparkling wit, and poignant sarcasm, were felt and appreciated both at Eton and Oxford, where acquiring a first-rate reputation as an elegant but not a learned scholar, an accomplished but not a profound genius, he carried off several prizes."

In 1793 Mr. Canning was first returned to the House of Commons, as Member for Newport in the Isle of Wight, under the auspices of Mr. Pitt; and he delivered his first speech in support of that great Parliamentary leader's motion for a grant of £20,000, to enable the King of Sardinia to defend his dominions against the French Convention, then at the height of its frenzy. In the session of 1795 he seconded the answer to the address, and was subsequently appointed Under Secretary of State. Much to his honour, in 1797 he threw "the ardour of youth and all his energy and accomplishments into the debate upon the slave trade, and denouncing that most impolitic as well as inhuman traffic, in a speech even then unequalled for masculine eloquence and triumphant effect." During the following year he joined in starting the "Anti-Jacobin Review," the wit and severity of which soon pushed the work into a flourishing popularity, unknown up to that period to the periodical literature of the country. In 1797, he published "New Morality," a work of pungent satire; he spoke with brilliant energy in favour of a legislative union with Ireland; and was himself united to Joan, daughter of General Scott. He took his seat for Tralee in a new Parliament which met in November 1803, and was soon appointed Treasurer of the Navy. In 1807 he became Foreign Secretary, and on September 21st, 1809, he fought a duel with Lord Castlereagh,

then Secretary-at war, and was wounded in the thigh—after which affair Mr. Canning resigned his post in the Portland Administration. He was a powerful advocate of the Catholic claims, and he carried more than one motion in their favour, when member for Liverpool, a seat which he retained after four protracted and harassing elections. He subsequently went on an embassy to Portugal, and on his return became President of the Board of Control. When the celebrated trial of Queen Caroline commenced, to which Mr. Canning was opposed, he resigned his seat in the Cabinet; two years after which he was offered and accepted the place of Governor-general of India; but before he could quit England, Lord Londonderry committed suicide, and the office of Secretary for Foreign Affairs, thus left vacant, was at once conferred upon him. "From this period Mr. Canning appears altogether in a new light, and as a statesman, entitled himself to the highest consideration. The line of foreign policy he pursued was liberal and energetic, and highly advantageous to the best interests of his country and mankind." When illness incapacitated Lord Liverpool for office in 1827, Mr. Canning, sustained by his own transcendant talents and enlightened views alone, reached the summit of a statesman's ambition, and became his Sovereign's Prime Minister, (first lord of the Treasury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer;) but scarcely had the hopes of the nation been raised by this most popular appointment, than it pleased Providence to render those hopes delusive—the right honourable gentleman's death ensuing a few months after his elevation."

(5.) William Pitt Canning, a commander in the Royal Navy, was drowned while bathing at Madeira, September 25th, 1828.

——————"The duteous river laves—
Fair Westbury, thy convent's mould'ring walls,
And flows complaining by. O ye who dwell
Around yon ruins, guard the precious charge
From hands profane!—O save the sacred pile
O'er which the wing of centuries has flown
Darkly and silently, deep-shadowing all
Its pristine honours—from the ruthless grasp
Of future violation! Warble on
(Pellucid Tryn)——————————
——————————and fling upon the breeze
The music of thy waterfall; but where,
O where is he,—the monk,—who loved to list
That melody, and stray upon that bank
At musing eve, what time yon shatter'd fane
Arose in its magnificence!"

N. T. CARRINGTON.

Geo Pryke. 1853.

CHAPTER V.

1.—Early notice of a Religious House at Westbury. 2.—The church made collegiate. 3.—Its re-erection ascribed to Bishop Carpenter and William Canynges junior. 4.—Endowed by King Edward IV. 5.—Kemsey, &c., given to it. 6.—Extent of the college. 7.—Tomb of Bishop Carpenter. 8.—Thomas Norton the Alchymist. 9.—Canynges not associated with him. 10.—Almshouse built by the latter. 11.—Deans of Westbury college. 12.—Its Dissolution. 13.—Present remains described. 14.—The church and its architecture. 15.—Death of William Canynges, his gifts to Religious Fraternities, &c. 16.—His funeral. 17.—Place of his interment. 18.—His tomb in the south transept of Redcliffe church. 19.—The Canynges arms. 20.—Effigies of William Canynges and his wife. 21, 22.—Their original situation discussed. 23.—Canynges effigy as an ecclesiastic. 24.—When placed in Redcliffe church. 25.—Canynges almoner, and, 26.—Others of his domestics. 27.—Character of Canynges. 28.—Not faultless. 29.—State of England, Canynges a Lancasterian. 30.—He becomes a Yorkist, and why? 31.—A great builder, and, 32.—A man of taste. 33.—General summary. 34.—William Canynges' children. 35, 36.—Spenser's almshouse.

1. THE erection of a Religious House at Westbury-on-Trym, seems to have taken place at an early period after the introduction of Christianity into Britain. The permanent residence in this county of Augustine, the great primitive missionary of the Papacy, occurred towards the close of the sixth century; and as we know it was the custom of his followers to itinerate and preach in the

places they visited, it is not unlikely that Bristol and its neighbourhood was favoured with their ministrations very soon afterwards. Some writers affirm that Augustine was himself in the old town with many British Bishops in A.D. 603. Camden says "Here (at Westbury) was a monastery in the 9th century, re-edified in the 11th, but dissolved in the reign of Henry I." Rudder asserts that "Westbury College claims the precedence of all in point of antiquity;" and Tanner, in the 'Notitia,' states that a monastery is certainly mentioned in the acts of the synod of Clovesho, as existing at Westbury in 824; and that certain lands in its vicinity were given to Worcester, (to which it was a cell,) for its support by Ethelred, son of Ethelmund—the Bishop of that See being its patron, and so continued to be until the dissolution of Religious Houses in the sixteenth century. During the irruption of the Danes the monks appear to have been dispersed, which was the case generally throughout the island; and the monasteries after being pillaged of every thing valuable, were frequently destroyed. Such seems to have occurred at Westbury, for from the same authority we learn that 1093, Oswald Bishop of Worcester, re-edified this convent; and having dedicated it to the honour of the Blessed Virgin, the monks were restored to it by him, and the lands, which had been lost during the wars, were recovered.

Bishop Wulstan subsequently aided in the work; but Sampson (Appendix D) who was elected to the see in 1096, removed the brotherhood of Benedictines—substituted secular Canons—and despoiled the institution of its possessions. Bishop Sampson died here May 5th, 1112. From this time, with one exception, no mention is made of any religious establishment being at Westbury, until nearly two centuries afterwards.

2. The removal of the brethren from this house, and its spoliation by Bishop Sampson, was evidently intended to benefit the priory at Worcester; but in 1125, Simon, who then filled the see, re-instated the Benedictines, who continued in possession of the monastery until its dissolution. In the year 1288, a successful attempt was made by Godfrey Giffard, then Bishop, to make several churches in the neighbourhood, prebendal to that of Westbury. Great opposition was offered to this scheme by the prior and convent at Worcester, but in vain; and the prelate had the gratification of making this church collegiate. Having dedicated it to the Holy Trinity, it was constituted a college for a dean and canons, in the gift, as before stated, of the Bishop of Worcester.

3. The next mention I find of this establishment, occurs when Edward III. gave to it the hospital of St. Lawrence, in the hundred of Barton Regis, near Bristol, and when for the maintenance

of two prebendaries in it, lands had been appropriated in the parishes of Bisley and Stroud, in the County of Gloucester. This latter gift caused contentious disputings between Herbert, Bishop of Worcester, and the Berkeley family. License was also given in the 49th year of the same monarch, to erect the prebend of Aust, into which the celebrated reformer John Wycliffe was subsequently inducted. From this time until the fifteenth century, the history of this Institution is unrecorded; but then the College, as Sir Robert Atkyns tells us, was established for a dean and five canons; having been founded by Richard, Duke of York, son of Edmond de Langley, fifth son of King Edward III., and by Edmond, Earl of Rutland, third son of Duke Richard. Camden, however, with more probability, says, (quoting Isaacson's Chronicle, fol. 467,) "I finde that in Anno 1447, John Carpenter then Bishop of Worcester founded the Colledge at Westbury neere Bristoll by pulling downe the old Colledge, and in the new Building inlarged it very much compassing it about with a strong Wall, Embattled; adding a faire Gate, with divers Towers, (more like unto a Castle then a Colledge) and lastly bestowed much good Land for augmenting the Revenue thereof." Nash, citing an "Abstract from a M.S. in the Bodleian Library, title, Natural History of Gloucestershire, by Abel

Wanter." confirms Camden's statement. Dugdale associates "*Sir* William Canynges (our Bristol merchant) who was afterwards dean here, and others" in the good work of rebuilding the structure; and a more recent writer observes that the College is "said to have been founded by Bishop Carpenter, but more truly by the famous, though eccentric, William Canynges of Bristol, who became the *first* Dean." All these statements, it will be observed, refer to a re-founding of the edifice, and not to an original erection. The truth appears to be that Bishop Carpenter destroyed most of the old building, and constructed a new and greatly enlarged one, upon its site. At this time (1447) William Canynges was a prosperous merchant with a large and still increasing income at his command; and there can be no doubt, from the close intimacy which for many years had existed between him and his Confessor, the Bishop, that he greatly assisted by his liberality in the work of re-erection. The architectural peculiarities of the College, and much of its Church, belong to the period to which these remarks refer; and I conceive that after the prelate had commenced the buildings, his friend Canynges supplied him with ample funds for their completion. In this way the names of both individuals are connected with the College for the first time—both being regarded as the founders of the establishment by

those who prefer the general statement of a fact to an investigation of its truth.

4. The village of Westbury is situated in the County of Gloucester; and about three miles from Bristol. The river Trym runs through it, and upon the margin of the stream rise the boundary walls of the College. The provision made for the maintenance of this establishment by Bishop Carpenter was at first in all probability but scanty; and therefore, on its re-erection, King Edward IV., from respect to the memory of his august relatives Richard, Duke of York, Edward, Earl of Rutland, and Cecilia his mother, endowed it with new grants, which seem to have secured for these departed ones also, according to Atkyns, the reputation of being its founders. The grant of the Manor of Elmstree, in the parish of Tetbury, made by King Edward to this College in 1465 is as follows:—

"The King, to all to whom, &c., greeting, know ye, that of our special favour and sincere love and affection which we bear towards the college, or collegiate church of Westbury, in the county of Gloster; and that the dean and canons, and other officers of that college, and their successors, may in particular pray and implore God for our welfare, and of Cæcilia our mother, whilst we live, and for our souls after we are dead, and for the souls of our most dear father, Richard, Duke of York, and

of Edward, Earl of Rutland, our Brother; we have given and granted, and by this our charter have confirmed, to Henry Sampson, clerk, dean of the said college, and to the chapter thereof, the mannor of Aylminstre, otherwise called Elmystre, with its appurtenances, in the said county of Gloster; to have and to hold the said mannor, with the appurtenances, unto the aforesaid dean and chapter, and their successors, of us and our heirs, in pure and perpetual alms for ever, together with court-leets, franck-pledge, privileges, and other liberties, profits and commodities, to the said mannor belonging or appertaining; the statute of Mortmain, &c., notwithstanding. In testimony whereof, &c.

Witness the King at Westminster, the twenty-first day of March.

5. On the completion of the College it appears to have been re-dedicated to the Holy Trinity, with the addition of the Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul; and Bishop Carpenter, as if grateful for the favour shewn to the establishment by the monarch, appropriated in 1473, by licence from the king, the rectory of Kemsey, with the chapels of Norton and Stoulton, all in the county of Worcester, towards its support. The donation of Kemsey appears to have been made by the special request of William Canynges who was its *incumbent* in 1472, and who declared (he being then dean at Westbury) that the revenue of the College was

inadequate to its support. Kemsey was first made a prebendal church in this College by Bishop Gifford, September 3rd, 1288. On the present occasion it was given for the purpose of celebrating the obiits of the princes before mentioned; and praying for the prosperity of King Edward and his Queen whilst living, and for the due performance of their obiits and anniversary for ever: to the proper and devout fulfilment of this engagement the brethren of the College were solemnly sworn. *(See Nash's Worcestershire, Vol.* ii. *pp.* 28, 29, 30.*)*

6. Some idea of the general appearance of this College when its re-construction was completed in the fifteenth century, may be gathered, from its present remains, also from Camden already quoted, and "Godwin de Præsulibus Angliæ," Vol. 9. folio 467; (see also Fuller's Worthies, p. 355.) Godwin says that "John Carpenter, D.D. was (as my author rationally collecteth) born at Westbury in this county (Gloucester,) bred in Oriall College in Oxford, whereof he became Provost and Chancellor of the University in 1457, thence preferred Prefect of St. Anthonies in London, and at last Bishop of Worcester. He was so indulgent to Westbury, the place of his nativity, that of a mean, he made it a magnificent Convent, more like a Castle than a College, walling it about with Turrets, and making a stately gatehouse thereunto.

He had a humorous intent to style himself and successors (in imitation of Bath and Wells) Bishops of Worcester and Westbury, which Title (though running cleverly on the tongue's end) never came in request, because therein *Impar conjunctio*, the matching of a Collegiate and Cathedral Church together. He died (at Northwick) Anno Dom[i]: 1475, and was buried in his native town of Westbury," on the south side of the chancel in the church of the College; where "extraordinary miracles if we may believe it were wrought as John Rous affirms." Here the sculptured skeleton of a man, "shamefully mutilated by some unfeeling ignorant brutes," and a dilapidated crosier lying by his side, commemorate the worthy prelate. (Appendix E.) His effigy in pontificals also adorns a niche on the west front of the tower belonging to the same structure, and which without doubt he erected.

7. During the progress of the restoration which this church has recently undergone, the burial place of the Bishop was discovered in the month of September, 1852, beneath the floor, and immediately under the tomb upon which reposes the cadaver just spoken of. Upon the wall above the cist once containing the body, (of which nothing remained) appeared to be represented in colours, the funeral procession of the good prelate. It commenced with the cavalcade leaving the city of

Worcester, whither probably the corpse had been removed from Northwick where the bishop died. This part of the painting is shewn in the accompanying illustration, as correct as it could be copied —much of it having been destroyed by the dampness of the walls. At intervals evident traces still remained of what appeared to be intended for representations of the various towns and villages through which the cortegé passed, but these were too indistinct to be clearly made out—much of the outline and most of the colours having entirely disappeared. The procession was apparently closed by a number of persons on foot, accompanied by a body of horsemen; beneath which, as well as at the commencement, the arms of the Bishop were emblazoned. (Appendix F.) Close to the recess on which this painting was seen, and at its east end, is a piscina, and a door of entrance (built up) from the exterior of the structure, beneath the east window of the chancel; which would lead to the supposition that this underground apartment or crypt was originally a mortuary chapel.

8. Elias Ashmole, author of the "Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum," says "This Bishop Carpenter is supposed to be Brother, or neere Kinsman to Richard Carpenter (author of a work on Alchemy,) and accounted an Hermetique Philosopher. He was Contemporary with Nor-

obtained his riches. Ashmole remarks upon this

Remains of a Painting discovered on the wall of Bishop Carpenter's tomb beneath the chancel of the Church at Westbury-on-Trym, during the restoration in 1852.
Geo. Pryce del. et lith.

ton, and Cannings; and for the most part lived neere unto them, at the aforesaid Westbury, not unlike for the Societies sake of Norton and Cannings or for some speciall Blessing he met with there." Norton was, like Canynges, a native of Bristol; and he is spoken of as a celebrated alchymist in the reign of Edward IV. Fuller says that "he boasted himself to be so great a proficient in chemistry, that he learned it to perfection in forty days, when he was twenty-eight years old." The "Theatrum corroborates this, and further says,

> "Thomas Norton of Briseto,
> A parfet Master ye maie him trowe;"

adding that he "was *Alchymista suo tempore peritissimus*, and much more curious in the Studies of Philosophy then others, yet they passe some undecent and abusive Censures upon him, with reference to this vaine and frivolous Science, as they are pleas'd to tearme it." He wrote "The Ordinall of Alchimy," the following couplet in which is supposed to refer to Joanna, the wife of William Canynges;—

> "I made also the Elixir of lyfe,
> Which me bereft a Marchant's wife;"

alluding, as it is supposed, to her having stolen from him his secret, and by which her husband obtained his riches. Ashmole remarks upon this

"The Conjecture has much of probability in it which speakes this the Wife of Will. Cannings;" but as Mr. Dallaway observes, he "offers not even the authority of tradition, much less of proof," for such an assertion.

9. With the exception of the vague testimony given above, we have no reason to believe that Canynges was at all associated with Norton in his search after the Philosopher's stone—a thing he had doubtless heard much of by report, but which it is not likely had influenced his mind so as to induce him to devote his time in fruitless experiments by way of possessing himself of an ideal something that was to transmute all metals into gold. Canynges and his friend the Bishop were too much engaged with more serious matters to exert their energies and waste time in such employment; although Ashmole adds in a note just quoted, referring to the great wealth of the former that "the Conjecture has much of probability in it which speaks of the Wife of Will. Cannings, and whose wealth was farr beyond the best of those tymes." The entire story, however, savours so much of the improbable, that it may be regarded as one of the many myths which has added interest to the memory of William Canynges; whose history it has been the business of authors to invest with as much of the mysterious as possible; until at length so little in reality is known of him,

that in the place of fact they have supplied us with fiction; and that of certainty with fable.

10. In addition to the share William Canynges had in the re-erection of the Benedictine College at Westbury, he built an almshouse also in its vicinity, for the reception of poor men and women, leaving lands for its support, as well as to pay £44 yearly to the Sheriffs of Bristol for vehicles to pass through the gates of the town toll free when conveying provisions to his charity, and probably the College, at Westbury. The site of the almshouse may still be recognized by sundry doorways, &c. built up with more modern portions of dwelling houses, but they are of too insignificant a character to require further remark.

11. Tanner has preserved the following as the names of the Deans who had presided over this College as near as he could collect them:—Hugh de Carnaria made dean, 1290; Nicholas de York, was succeeded by Rulph de Lacu, 1323; William Edington was succeeded by Adam de Aylincton, 1335; David Bracewell elected 1395; Stephen Basset was succeeded by William Oxton, 1413; John Arundel, 1414; John Powle was succeeded by John Lowsby, 1425; Richard Ellis succeeded the same year; John Kemmes died 1451; Wil-Okeborn, 1451; John Blakman resigned; Henry Sampson succeeded 1458; William Canynges died 1474; and was succeeded by Robert

Slymbridge; and he by William Vaus; to whom succeeded John Lyndsey, 1479; he died 1488, and was succeeded by Adam Redshelf, 1488; William Cretyng, L.L.B. occurs dean in 1497; after which date he says no account of the persons placed over the College is mentioned. The following signatures, however, of the Dean and Chapter subscribed by them to a deed of gift, give the names of such of the inmates of the College who witnessed it, a few years before the suppression of the house:—

"Dat. in Domo nostra Capitulari septimo die Mensis Septembris, Anno Regni Regis nostri Henrici Octavi Vicesimo sexto.

Johannes Barlo, Decanus.
Johannes Farnwell, Clericus.
Johannes Bradley, Clericus.
Thomas Sargeant, Clericus.
Robertus Whetacre, &c. 6.
Sigill. de Cera rubea."

(Rymer. Tom xiv. *p.* 5 3.*)*

By William Canynges will we learn that Philip Hiette, one of the witnesses to the execution of that document, was subdean at the time.

12. At the Dissolution of Religious Houses, the revenues of this College were valued at £232 14s. 0d. On its surrender to the king, February 18th, 35th Henry VIII. by John Barlow, then dean, its site, together with the manor, the advowson of the rectory, and all the lands belonging to the College, were granted to "the Right Worshipful

and Hospital Housekeeper Ralph Sadler, Esq.;" as Godwin styles him. The College, with its strongly constructed and embattled walls, was entire in the reign of Charles I. when it was set on fire and burnt down by order of Prince Rupert, (Rudder, p. 796,) because it should not afford shelter to, or be garrisoned by, the army of the Parliament, to the annoyance of the Royalists then in possession of Bristol; "though those" says Godwin "who esteemed themselves judicious in war, apprehended neither necessity thereof, nor advantage thereby." This testimony is valuable as affording direct evidence, if such were wanting, that the destruction of the monuments of the Middle Ages, was not the sole act of the so-called fanatics who sided with the Commonwealth. Authors, subsequent to the Restoration of monarchy in the person of Charles II., knowing that the sympathies of many of their readers were with the existing order of things, and opposed even to the rational progress demanded by the exigencies of the times, —too frequently employed their talents in fostering a hatred to our puritanical forefathers; and the profession of depreciating men whose true nobility of mind and purpose they could not understand, has been adopted by some modern writers. The time, however, has passed away in which to succeed in the undignified vocation of heaping odium upon those who manned the breach made

by Royalty itself—advanced by ages the best interests of their country—and secured to after generations the blessings of enlightened, liberal, free, and patriotic institutions, which all the slow-coach movements of antiquated precedents would never have procured for its people; and which the machinations of enemies however potent will never be able to destroy.

13. The remains of the College are chiefly confined to a square tower, or gatehouse, (see illustration chapter IV) which is ascended from the interior by a circular staircase; and in the several greatly modernized apartments there are Perpendicular English doorways opening into them. The principal entrance was by a portal from the north, into a hall or porter's lodge, having a groined roof in the same style of architecture; the centre being adorned with the arms of Bishop Carpenter carved on a shield, and also some highly wrought bosses. (See illustration at the commencement of this chapter.) At the angles of the square in which the College stood, are circular turrets or small towers; within compass of which a modern mansion has been erected. From a small apartment adjoining the chief entrance to the College, is a doorway leading underground, as it is said, to the church; where it terminates near Bishop Carpenter's tomb on the side of the chancel.

14. The oldest portion of the Collegiate Church

consists of the columns on each side of the nave, which are Norman, and probably formed part of Bishop Oswald's restoration: the arches springing from them, together with the sidelia and doorway in the south aisle, and the windows at the west end of it, are all of Early English architecture; but by whom erected we have no means of knowing. The remainder of the church, including the entire chancel, (which is evidently an addition to the original structure,) the windows in the aisles of the nave, and the tower, are all constructed in the Perpendicular English style; the latter being the work of Bishop Carpenter, whose effigy, as before stated, is placed upon its west front, as a record of the fact; and the first named (the chancel) was in like manner constructed by him, with the assistance of William Canynges, as is witnessed by the circumstance of its being the place in which the remains of the prelate were sepulchred: the south aisle of the chancel is by tradition assigned to Canynges, and is still known as his chapel or chantry.

15. It accorded well with William Canynges' character, that he should retire in his latter days to the sequestered and peaceful retreat which he doubtless found in the College at Westbury; and in the association of the Benedictine brethren there resident, to spend his days in pious contemplation and in deeds of unostentatious charity.

Here he made his will, and finished his earthly course, probably in the presence of his friend and Confessor the Bishop; whom he preceded to the grave but a few short months at most. By a portion of the will quoted below we learn that a numerous retinue of priests and friars conveyed his body to the church of St. Mary Redcliffe, at Bristol, where it was deposited according to his own direction, "in the place constructed and made in the southern part of the said church, near the altar of St. Katherine, where the body of Joanna his late wife was interred." His remains were received at the Church of St. Mary by "Master Nicholas Pittes, the vicar;" the various chaplains, the three clerks, the three procurators of the church, and the keeper of the north porch—all of whom as we shall see were remunerated for their attendance. He bequeaths also to the several religious fraternities who were present various amounts of money as follows;—"The fellows of the Collegiate church and college of Westbury, each six shillings and eightpence; and to each of the chaplains and deacons of the said college five shillings, upon condition that they be present at his obsequies and mass the day of his death, in the church of Westbury; and afterwards that they conduct his corpse as far as the church of Redcliffe to his place of burial: to each of the twelve chorister boys of Westbury eightpence, upon the same condition:

to the brethren of the Order of Minors (Franciscans) at Bristol, twenty pounds upon this condition, that they be present at the exequies and mass on the day of his burial, and the day of the same Month's Mind, in the church of Redcliffe, and the anniversary day of the first year after his death: to the Orders of Friar's Preachers, (Dominicans,) the Augustines, and the Carmelites, he gives ten pounds each, upon the same condition: to the fraternity of the Assumption of the Blessed Mary, upon the bridge of Avon at Bristol, forty shillings: to the fraternity of St. John the Baptist, founded in the church of St. Andoeni (St. Ewen) twenty shillings: to the fraternity of St. Katherine, in the church of the Holy Cross of the Temple, twenty shillings: and to the fraternity for the Commemoration of the Souls of the departed, founded in the church of the Blessed Mary of Redcliffe, twenty shillings."

16. With such a procession of "Religious" were the remains of William Canynges attended from the College at Westbury, to their final resting place in the gorgeous shrine which tradition tells us was raised or re-edified by him "to his everlasting praise." And who will not say it was a right pompous ecclesiastical affair; and one for which he paid well to ensure the attendance of all the available accessories of the Church, which he purposely enlisted, to add to the display, and give

eclât to the mournful scene. Amid blazing torches for which too he amply provided in his will; the glittering adornments and costly vestments of the priesthood; the varied habiliments of the Mendicants present on the occasion; and the upswelling funeral dirge with its doleful strains, wafted upon the breeze as they paced with measured tread the melancholy passage to the tomb—the grave closed upon all that was mortal of one, who had feasted princes in his dwelling hard by; and presided over the local destinies of those who committed to his charge the interests of a great and wealthy community. For him the pompous array of marshalled priests, monks, and mendicants sang,

"Toll the bell—a solemn toll,
Slow and solemn let it be,
While we pray for WILLIAM'S soul,—
MISERERE, DOMINE!

Far beneath, his upward flight
Leaves the World with all its woes,—
Bear him, by the torches' light,
To his long, his last repose.

Toll the bell—a solemn toll,
Slow and solemn let it be,
While we pray for WILLIAM'S soul,—
MISERERE, DOMINE!

By torch-light from his convent home,
We bear him to the lighted Fane,—
For him we sigh, lament, and moan,
And sigh, lament, and moan, again.

Toll the bell—a solemn toll,
  Slow and solemn let it be,
While we pray for WILLIAM's soul,—
  MISERERE, DOMINE!

Priests with banner and with cross,
  Receive him at yon western door,
In tears, bewail a brother's loss,
  And the Peace of Heav'n implore.

Toll the bell—a solemn toll,
  Slow and solemn let it be,
While we pray for WILLIAM's soul,
  MISERERE, DOMINE!

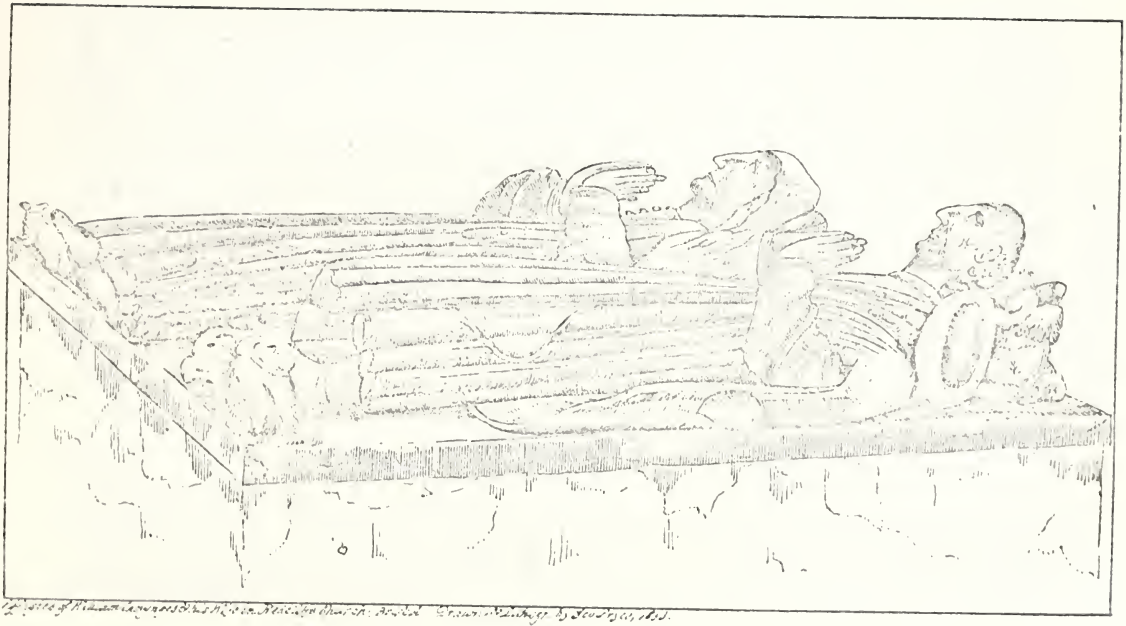
Choristers arrayed in white,
  As ye slowly pace the nave
Join us in the holy rite,
  Chant, before him, to the Grave,—

'WILLIAM GOOD, and WILLIAM BRAVE,
  Who would not weep for thee!
And as we lay him in the grave,
  Sing, DONA PACEM, DOMINE!"

W. L. BOWLES.
(slightly altered.)

17. The place in which were deposited the remains of William Canynges, has long been matter of uncertainty. That the locality was the southern side of the church of St. Mary was sufficiently known; but the whereabouts could only be conjectured. No writer attempted to decide on the precise spot indicated in his will; and all have satisfied themselves with echoing the state-

ment that it was "near the altar of St. Katherine." Now this erection stood beneath the great window at the extremity of the south transept, where is a tomb on which repose the effigies of William Canynges and his wife, but which it is quite certain was not originally placed there; because fragments of the iron work by which the altar spoken of was secured to the wall of the church still remain; and there are also other indications of its previous occupation by a very different structure to that which has usurped its place. A discovery made in the month of August, 1852, appears, however, to settle the question. It had long been suspected, from certain appearances on the exterior of the south aisle of the nave, that in the wall beneath two of its most easterly windows, some unrecorded interments had taken place; and Sholto Vere Hare, Esq. the intelligent churchwarden at the time (would that all persons who held the office were equally so,) resolved, on a fitting occasion, to have the wall opened, which was accordingly done, beneath both the windows alluded to: the result was that two recessed tombs were disclosed, each containing human remains—that to the east were those of a female, and the most westerly those of a male person. The face of both tombs had been most shamefully chipped away, to render the wall perfectly flat, probably when the church was re-pewed in the reign of Queen Anne;



at which time these otherwise beautiful canopied recesses were closed up, to the disgrace of the barbarians who could be guilty of such a wanton act of Vandalism. Sufficient however of the detail was found buried inside the wall, to shew that the tombs were constructed in the latter half of the fifteenth century; from which circumstance, and the fact that the Canynges' arms were delineated in colour on a shield among other fragments within the recess, the tombs appear clearly to be those of the second William Canynges and his wife Joanna.

18. It is impossible to say when the tomb beneath the south window of the transepts was constructed, or from whence it came; as no record is left to inform us. In the absence of correct data, it might well be regarded as the production of a later age than that of William Canynges; for although bearing the broad lineaments of the Perpendicular style of English architecture, which obtained when he flourished, there is a degree of clumsiness about its general appearance, and a lack of delicacy in the finishing of the detail, which is anything but prepossessing. Still with every drawback, it would be hazarding too much to say it is not a work of the Middle Ages. It exhibits an altar tomb over which is a flat testoon, adorned with uninscribed labels, and surmounted with trefoil flowers. The front be-

neath the altar portion has panelled niches, in the centre of which is a shield bearing the Canynges arms painted on it. This however is no proof that the tomb was constructed to commemorate the individual for whom it is supposed to have been erected; as there is no evidence that William Canynges ever used any arms whatever.

19. The arms described by Barrett, p. 628, as belonging to this family, are argent three moors heads sable. At page 581 he says, "Over Mr. Canynges tomb are the family arms in proper colours, viz. arg. three moors heads couped sable wreathed azure and argent, no crest." Mr. Dallaway defines them as "Argent—3 Moors heads erased proper boudest azure and argent." It is very remarkable that these arms as the last named writer observes "do not appear as attached to the architecture of any part of the church" of St. Mary Redcliffe; and he adds, "it is presumed from satisfactory evidence that W. Canynges never used these armorial bearings. In an ancient M.S. of the arms borne by the several Lord Mayors of London, they are first attributed to his brother, Thomas Canynges. In the capital of a pillar we see W. Canynge's device, or merchant's mark, being a heart and the letters W. C. on either side, which are repeated once in a fragmented window of stained glass. In the reign of Elizabeth a fashion more generally prevailed of painting such

monuments of various colours, when this was so deformed, and the arms thereon first emblazoned." In the parish register is the following entry :—

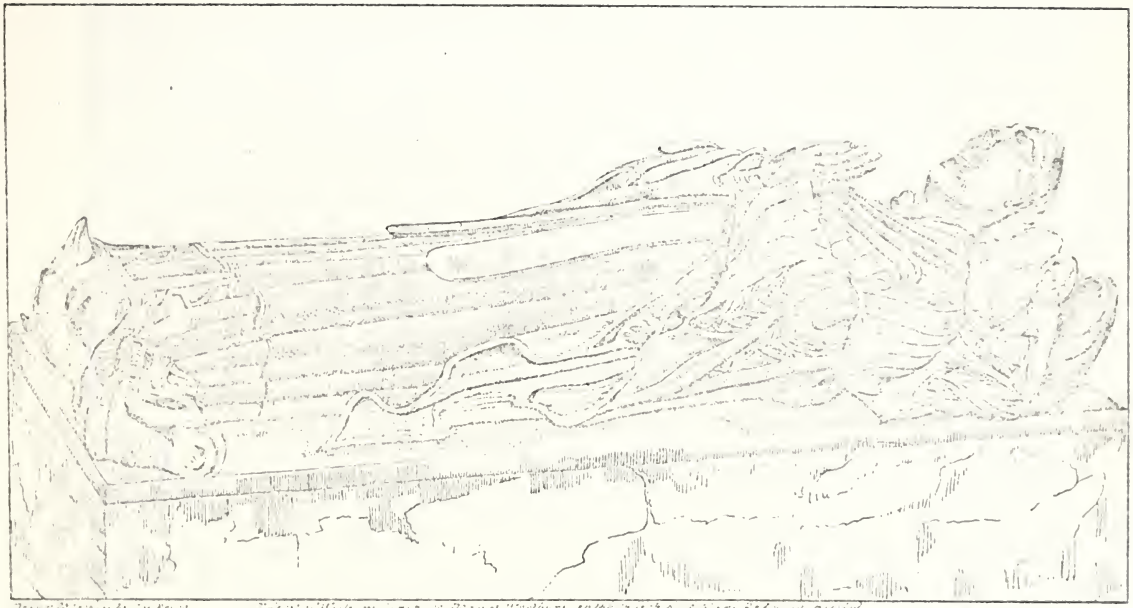
"1585. Item paide to the painter for gilding and Trimming of Mr. Cannings Tomb.——————————————— iijs. iiijd"

"Canynges' seal," says Dallaway, "has the rude figure of a Blackmoor's head only. He commonly used his merchant's mark;" and in confirmation of the opinion that William Canynges, junior, never used the arms described above, it is a singular fact, that although I have carefully searched every document contained in the archives of the churches of St. Mary Redcliffe and St. Thomas, and the arms of other parties are affixed to numerous deeds in which the name of Canynges repeatedly occurs, I have been unable to find the Blackmoors' heads in a single instance, or any other cognizance which can with certainty be assigned to any member of the family. The arms of Canynges appear beneath his figure as a priest in the title page of this work, and his mark under that of the merchant opposite.

20. The effigies upon the tomb last described are those of William Canynges, habited as a magistrate; and his wife Joanna, apparelled according to the fashion of the time, in a plain flowing body dress and a loose kind of cap covering the head.

21. A close inspection of these effigies and the altar portion of the tomb on which they lie, will suffice to show that each rests on a separate slab; and that the right side of the female figure has been chipped off, so as to allow it to be placed close to the wall, as if to make room for its companion; and that the right arm of the man is cut away to admit the dress of the female's left arm, so that the two figures may lie abreast upon the circumscribed space allotted to them within the breadth of the tomb. Moreover the slab on which the male effigy is placed, comes out flush with the edge of the monument; which would not have occurred in an original erection. We may safely conclude therefore from these premises, that the figures in question were not placed upon this tomb when they came from the hands of the sculptor.

22. The question then arises as to the place from whence they were conveyed to their present destination. Before the discovery made in the south aisle of the nave, I certainly thought, with every other writer, that the monument, beneath the canopy of which these figures are now placed, was that referred to in the will of William Canynges, where he speaks of the place he had constructed and made, in the south part of the church near the altar of St. Katherine, and where the body of Joanna his wife was interred. Further observation however, and the opening the tombs in the spot



Drawn & Engraved by Geo Pryce

Effigy of William Cunningham, Dean of Westbury, in the Church of Westbury Redcliffe Bristol.

indicated above, has proved that this opinion was founded in error, but into which every author had fallen alike. Had not the discovery in the south aisle been made, the same opinion would still have prevailed, whilst the same objections to its correctness, as those I have mentioned, would have existed; and conjecture regarding an explanation continued as rife as ever. The difficulty, however, respecting the original destination of these effigies is now cleared up; and it is found on measuring the length and breadth of the slabs on which they rest, that both fit exactly into the tombs opened in the south aisle from whence they were undoubtedly removed, but when, and under what circumstances we have no means of knowing: it must, however, have been before the church was repewed, and therefore upwards of a century and half ago.

23. In the east aisle of the south transept of St. Mary Redcliffe church, and in the immediate vicinity of that on which the effigies of William Canynges and his wife repose, is a second tomb of the altar kind, on which lies a full length figure of that worthy man habited as a priest. Like every other circumstance relating to him and to the church in which his ashes were deposited, mystery has surrounded even this memorial of his latter days; and writers have so enveloped it within the folds of their own imaginings, that it would

almost seem they had purposely done so; as if to veil in obscurity every thing pertaining to the history of the individual under notice; and as though truth itself would not make him an object sufficiently interesting without the aid of fiction. Of this monument Mr. Dallaway says, "He (William Canynges) had procured, according to a practice then not unusual, his effigy as a priest, to be carved and placed as a monument in the chapel there, (meaning at Westbury College,) and with a remarkable figure at his feet of an old man, apparently in an agony, embodying a metaphysical idea of putting off the old man, from his having abandoned his lay character." He then adds, "When Westbury college was burned down by Prince Rupert's army in 1643, to prevent the Parliament's army from taking possession of it, upon their surrender of Bristol, this monument was saved, and is now in Redcliffe church." (Appendix G.) I have already shown in my "Notes" page 175, that nothing can be more erroneous than this statement; and I there briefly quoted from a translation of "Camden's Britannia" to prove that this tomb was placed in its present position many years before Westbury College was destroyed. I now give the quotation in full from page 237 of the above named work "Translated by Philemon Holland, Doctour in Physick: Londini, Impensis, Georgii Bishop & Joannis Norton M.D.C.X:"—"In it, (Redcliffe

church) *William Cannings the founder, hath two faire monuments: upon the one lieth his image portraid in an Alderman's robe:* For, fine times hee had beene Major (mayor) of this Citie: *upon the other his image likewise in sacerdotall habite;* for that in his old age he tooke the orders of priesthood, and was Deane of the Colledge which himself instituted at Westburie." Of Holland's translation Fuller says it was "done in Master Camden's life time, not only with his knowledge and consent, but also, by his desire and help." Camden died in 1623. The author also of a tour through several English counties, made in 1634, and still preserved (No. 213) among the Lansdowne collection of Manuscripts in the British Museum, after describing the church of St. Mary Redcliffe, says, "Hee, (William Canynges) dyed Deane of Westbury, and built there a Colledge for Cannons. Hee maintayn'd many Ships at Sea, and was an exceeding rich Marchant, as the Story engrauen on his Monument, *wth his Aldermans and Sacerdotall Habits,* in that high, fayre Structure sets forth at large." (Appendix H.) The inscription here referred to on a board at the back of the tomb is the presumed composition of that well known maker of epitaphs in the reign of Queen Elizabeth—Thomas Churchyard.

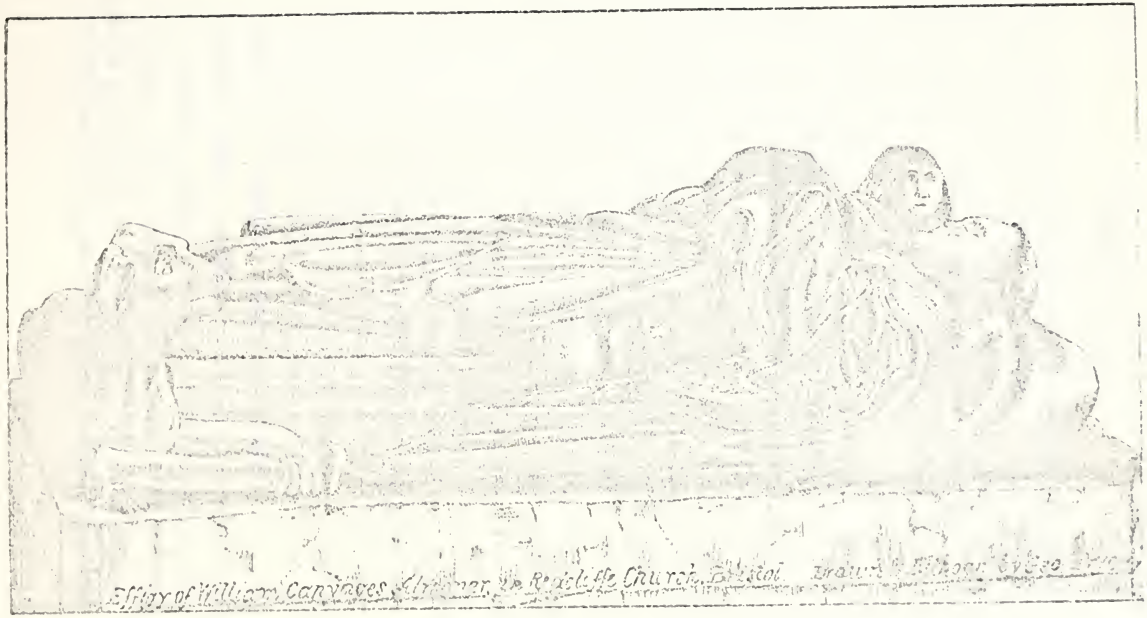
24. The above cited writers clearly establish two important facts in this enquiry,—the first is

that *two* monuments existed in the church of St. Mary Redcliffe to commemorate the second William Canynges, *before* Westbury College was burnt by Prince Rupert,—and the second is that *both* tombs had *effigies* upon them; one arrayed in the robes of a civilian, and the other in those of an ecclesiastic. Holland shows that *both* monuments were in the church not only when his translation was *made*, but when it was *published;* and it is fair to presume that some time elapsed between the two events. Without, however, surmising aught upon the subject, the first writer quoted, proves beyond dispute that *both tombs and the effigies upon them were in Redcliffe Church thirty-three years at least before Westbury College was destroyed*, and the author of the Tour briefly describes the tombs *as he saw them about seven years before that event*—his excursion commencing as he tells us, at the City of Norwich, "on Monday, August 11th, 1634, and ending at the same Place." It is not necessary to add another word to shew that both these writers clearly confute Dallaway's assertion, with regard to Canynges tomb on which he reposes in the garb of a priest. To prove such facts as these is doubly important in the present inquisitive age, because, however it may be a subject of regret, it is nevertheless undeniable, that nearly every writer upon Bristol antiquities, either because wanting time or energy to prosecute an

investigation to a satisfactory close, has merely repeated what he found recorded by his predecessor in the same path; and contented himself if he could only write a book, no matter whether valuable as an authority or not. In doing this many, because they have thought it necessary to say something, have committed themselves to opinions and statements which cannot be substantiated by facts. Thus from the age of Barrett to the present day, *Echo* has been the chapter upon which they have all founded their discourses; and its reverberation, the *text* upon which the burthen of their remarks have been almost uniformly suspended. It is high time, however, that worn out, threadbare, unsubstantial theories were discarded, when proved to be based upon mere traditionary evidence and mistaken conclusions; and although it may affect early prejudices, it were better to lay them aside than to perpetuate error; even though it should place us in antagonism with the received opinions of the masses, the fondly cherished associations ever connected with the name of Canynges, and the charm which the myths of the Middle Ages have thrown over the story of that princely merchant's life as well as over that of the building of Redcliffe church.

25. Before entering upon the discussion of the claim which every writer, from Barrett downwards, has set up for the first and second William Can-

ynges to be regarded as the sole builders or re-edifiers of the church of St. Mary Redcliffe, and which will very properly commence another chapter, I would briefly notice some other interesting "Memorials" which are more or less connected with the latter. The first is that of an altar tomb, standing in the west aisle of the south transept, upon which lie the recumbent effigies of a man whom tradition asserts was the purse bearer of the second William Canynges, because he happens to have something very like a gypciere, purse, or pouch, attached to his left side between the folds of his ample garments, which are evidently those of a civilian. Mr. Cole, an Oxford antiquary, considers this figure to be a third representation of Canynges himself; but this opinion I regard as altogether untenable, there being little in common, except in some particulars of dress, with those already mentioned. As, however, the subject has been discussed at some length in my "Notes" page 177, and to which the reader is referred, it is only necessary to state in this place, that the party it commemorates was in all probability Canynges' Secretary and almoner, two offices which the dog with a large bone in his paws, and the purse (or ink-horn as I would rather regard it from its peculiar shape) at the side of the figure itself appears to indicate. The dress of the effigy accords exactly with the time of Canynges, and like his portraiture



Effigy of William Canvages, Alderman, in Redcliffe Church, Bristol. Drawn & Lithogr. by Geo. [illegible]

as a civilian, it is habited in a long loose garment reaching to the feet; the turban or cap which covered the head, and then a very fashionable appendage, rests in like manner upon the left shoulder, and the scarf appertaining to it falls upon the breast.

26. Near this tomb the dust of several of Canynges' domestics of a meaner grade reposes. On a flat stone is carved a knife and a skimmer, indicating that the occupation of the person who sleeps beneath, was that of a Cook; and an inscription under these rude emblems informs the reader that it perpetuates the memory of "Willm Coke quondam servitii Willmi Canynges mercatore ville Bristole cujus animæ propitietur Deus. Amen:"—he was therefore Canynges' Cook. On another stone close by, ornamented with a cross upon it, and a rim of brass formerly running round the edges, is an inscription stating that it is placed over the remains of "Johēs Blecker sen pandoxator cujus āie propicietur. Deus. Amen:"—this man was Canynge's Brewer, whose obiit was to be kept in the chapel of St. Katherine. Adjacent is a record of "Ricardus Coke, et Tibota ux. ejus. Quorum aiābus, propitietur-eus. Amen;"—he was no doubt another of the wealthy merchant's servitors. In an old bede-roll among other persons to be prayed for, is "Willielmus Colas, the servant of Mystre Canynges that gave ii autours (altars)

of woode to the church of Redcliffe." Barrett says, "William Colas 7 Edward 4. was buried next St. George's chapel, 'who hath yeven and delyvred to All Sowles autour, wythynne the chyrche of owre Ladye of Redclyve yn Bristow, by the hands of Maystre William Canynges, a chalys wyth a paten of sylvre, wayinge xiii ounces and halfe, sylvre parcel gnylte, and the name of the said William Colas is wrote upon yt, and his fygure is portryed upon the foot, besydes the crucyfyxe of the sayde chalyce, and so hys sowle to be praid forre." Thus "lovely in life, in death they were not divided." The master and mistress with their domestics sleep in close proximity,—a testimony to after ages, that the former were esteemed by their dependants,—who felt it would be an honor when dead to lay their bones near to those it had been their happiness to serve when living; and to mingle their dust with its native earth near the ashes of their beloved master and his affectionate wife, Joanna.

27, We come now to one of the most difficult portions of the present undertaking—that of presenting the reader with a just estimate of the character of the second William Canynges. To so far eulogize an individual, however elevated he may be in the scale of society, as to exalt him above humanity, is to invite emotions of contempt for the writer in the breast of the thoughtful. To

Chatterton may be traced the origin of the indiscriminate praise accorded on all occasions by Barrett to his great hero William Canyngnes—laudations, be it observed, which however well merited by the party upon whom they are bestowed, are calculated to excite with the reflecting, as all overcharged, inflated encomiums ever will do, the reverse of esteem. Other writers of modern times have paid their adulatory homage at the shrine of William Canynges; and sung, without knowing why, unnumbered pæans in his praise. Authors of note have taxed their ingenuity to find phrases in which to eulogize his name; and those of lesser worth have followed in their wake, until the fair portraiture of the *man* has been seen only through the hazy atmosphere of panegyrizing tell-tales.

28. That the subject of these remarks was an estimable individual may be readily conceded—that he was as honoured for his integrity as he was for his wealth, may also be granted—and that he maintained an unblemished reputation in all his mercantile transactions, and a dignified position among his contemporaries, may, too, be admitted—but he had, nevertheless, the failings, the weaknesses, and the frailties, incident to poor human nature. To exhibit him then, as an almost immaculate piece of humanity, which some have done, would be to show that we have much to

learn of ourselves, as well as of others. Such a course might do well enough in the time of Canynges, when interested monks rated the characters of their benefactors by the amount of gifts received from them in life; and lauded the wealthy sinner because of expectations to be realized at death. But these days have disappeared, and with them ought to have passed away the vocation of those who, viewing character through a false medium, seem to think that nothing will pass current in the world of thought, but the perpetuation of a fulsome, adulatory estimate of men and things; in accordance with the standard which has been raised by others, weak like themselves, as portraying individual worth and personal virtues.

29. The times in which William Canynges lived, were prolific of party strife, and the discordant din of clashing interests. Internal dissensions rent the kingdom in twain, dividing it between the Red Rose and the White. All ranks of the community were redolent of the most flagrant and open licentiousness. Priests and people, clergy and laity, were alike guilty of an amount of profanity and daring profligacy, at the recital of which an involuntary shudder creeps over the frame, and the mind recoils at the hideous picture of moral deformity which the annalists of the times have depicted. Civil war with all its accumulated horrors ravaged the kingdom from one end to the

other, wasting its fairest provinces, and carrying ruin and death into the dwelling of many a peaceful family. Hostile armies led on by ambitious aspirants to a crown, engaged in terrific combat, and brother slaughtered brother in the cause of an usurped authority. (Appendix I.) Canynges had ample scope for considering his future course, and abundant opportunities for reflection upon the momentous events passing before his eyes, as well as for the exercise of his political preferences; which we have every reason to believe were then strongly in favour of the House of Lancaster; with the fate of which he must have been at this time personally interested. I am aware that this has been disputed by other writers, and Mr. Seyer in contending that Canynges was ever a zealous Yorkist, seems to have overlooked the fact of his early regard for the Church, to which he was devotedly attached, and of which the saint-like head of the Lancastrians was the earnest and sincere supporter. The influence which such a character would have upon the mind of our merchant may be imagined, and his obligations to his sovereign, from whom such marked and unusual tokens of special favour had been received as those before recited, very naturally bound him to his interests with a closer tie than mere passing advantages. This, I regard as strongly in favour of the opinion which a consider-

ation of the subject has induced me to adopt, that when the contest between the disputants *commenced*, his sympathies lay with the Lancastrians; and that it was only when by conquest their opponents exercised an usurped dominion, that Canynges yielded a reluctant obedience to a demand upon his submission, to which, under any other circumstances he would not have so readily assented. He doubtless evinced his preference for that now tottering interest with a conscientious regard to its supposed right to rule (which was open to dispute,) until the termination of the dynasty of Bolingbroke in the person of Henry VI. many years before his death actually occurred. He then probably from motives of policy, changed his views with a change in the times, and became professedly as attached to the Yorkists as he had heretofore been opposed to them. In stating this, we are not, I conceive, to regard Canynges as *rejecting* opinions with respect to the party with which his early associations had been so long identified; but rather that with the advent of a new sovereignty, he, as chief magistrate of an important provincial town, gave in his adherence to the newly constituted authority at the head of the nation; and we may therefore regard his future course as one not of *choice* but rather of *adoption*—not of *affection* but of *rule*. Canynges too was a religious man; and as the Church to which he was so devotedly attached,

had at this time politically forsaken the declining fortunes of the Lancastrian monarch, and passed with its influence to the Yorkists who were then in the ascendant, so he also, as a matter of duty to that Church, quietly yielded to a state of things he could not resist, and to an usurpation he had no power to repel.

30. With the elevation of William Canynges to the civic chair for the fourth time, a new era in his history commenced. Consistent and loyal in his attachment to the House of Lancaster, he had long maintained a position in the estimation of his fellow townsmen, to which in all probability, since the days of his great name sake, no other individual had attained. As their chief magistrate, he must have been eminently qualified for the duties of his station; and as their representative in parliament he was doubtless equally entitled to respect. As a merchant also, he was a prince among his contemporaries; and peer and peasant alike did him honour. But now the aspect of public affairs was undergoing a change, and Canynges was to be placed in circumstances of trial to which he had never before been subjected. In speaking of the character of such a man, especially of one who lived in such troublous times, the writer, in examining it in all its phases with a view to arrive at a truthful delineation, cannot overlook a fact that has been urged as showing at least the weakness

of Canynges at this time,—I allude to the apparent ease with which he threw off his allegiance to his benefactor King Henry, and the seeming willingness with which he rendered homage to his rival. The monarch was but a puppet in the hands of crafty nobles—a superstitious slave at the mercy of designing churchmen—and, enfeebled in reason and understanding, he became an easy tool with which to work out their ambitious intents. Canynges had seen him dethroned—knew that he was held in captivity by his enemies—and was fully aware of the compact entered into in 1460, by which neither the Duke of York nor any of his family should occupy the throne until Henry's death; (Appendix K.) yet the very next year, he not only proclaims the son of his great opponent King of England, (Henry being still alive) but when in the course of the summer, the new monarch visits Bristol "for the purpose of levying a forced loan upon the mercantile cities" (as Dallaway remarks,) he "remained for some time with Canynges who was then Mayor, and as the King's escheator, had the management of it." Although, perhaps, as chief magistrate he could not evade the duty imposed upon him in virtue of his office, to superintend the collection of this loan, yet surely as Bristol had its Guildhall, and other public buildings in which royalty could have been sumptuously lodged and feasted, he was not

compelled to entertain *in his own house*, as we know he did, a man, although a sovereign, if he did not approve his conduct; and "*who remained for some time with him.*" Edward had proved himself unworthy such an honour by his utter disregard to an engagement so sacred as that which secured the throne to Henry during his life time, and Canynges should have shewn his appreciation of such conduct by excluding the usurper from his private dwelling. Dallaway further observes "that he (Canynges) was reconciled to the new government, which may be attributed to the influence of his half-brother Thomas Young, who was a burgess in parliament, and a zealous Yorkist." Of the truth of this statement we have no proof, and I merely quote it, leaving the reader to judge how far it is deserving credit after what has been advanced. It must also be borne in mind, that the contest between the Houses of York and Lancaster was one in which the civil and religious liberty of the subject was involved; the latter being in favor of the absolutism of the Church of Rome, and the former to that of a deliverance from the evil influence of ecclesiastical domination, and the tyranny of priest craft, as it was exercised in regard to the mind of the meek and timid Henry. With the interests of that Church Canynges was intimately concerned, as his subsequent career clearly indicates; and we have therefore no reason to

believe that he adopted the cause of progress in its demand of constitutional freedom. He had witnessed the efforts made by the followers of Wycliffe to emancipate the nation from under the authority of the Popes, but he evidently clung to their governance with a tenacity worthy a better cause. Canynges was clearly no go-a-head man, and I see no reason to class him with those of enlightened progress. To uphold the authority of the Church, he bent his whole mind against the exercise of the rights of the people to free themselves from the thraldom of a dominant priesthood; and with equal certainty, as I conceive, he yielded to the House of York because it was not his interest to do otherwise.

31. According to Barrett, who quotes one of his ever recurring but rarely authentic manuscripts, William Canynges "was a great builder (which appears) from his erections at the college at Westbury, of which he is called Renovator and quasi alter fundator; famosus & egregius vir, magnæ industriæ & circumspectionis, & inter æteros specialissimus benefactor ecclesiæ de Redcliffe." A more correct estimate may be formed on the latter subject when the reader has perused in succeeding pages of this work, an examination of the claim thus made for him. So much that has been forged is mixed up with what may possibly be genuine, that it is extremely difficult to separate the true from the false in relation to this matter. Every writer and news-

paper essayist persists to the present day, even in the face of facts that disprove it, to assert that the church of St. Mary Redcliffe was built by this second William Canynges; but this is a pure fiction; for it cannot be shown that he either built the church, or the almshouse in the parish of Redcliffe, and yet his name has become attached to both by tradition and the forgeries of Chatterton. The charitable deeds, then, of one, the report of whose benevolence has commanded the regards of succeeding generations, is, after all that has been said of them, confined, as far as proof goes, to the ostentatious relief of the casual poor and needy, by means furnished to his almoner, after the manner of the age, when the bounty of the opulent was bestowed through so pharisaical a medium. No record is left of any permanent endowment or gift to allay the feverish anxiety of approaching old age, when the comforts of life, through misfortune or want of health, have been taken away, and left little to solace and support the mind for the future, except in the case of the solitary almshouse at Westbury! To monks and friars he was liberal, and they eulogized him in return, but the few benefactions he left to be dispensed to the poor after his death speak little in praise of his charities, except through the questionable channel already alluded to, and from which he came to be regarded as a man of unbounded benevolence.

32. From the same writer we also learn that William Canynges was a man of taste, and that he "enlarged his mind and cultivated a good understanding by learning." Barrett seems to have grounded this observation upon no other authority than the manuscripts ascribed to Rowley, which Chatterton presented him as genuine records. We can readily imagine from the care taken of the young merchant by his father-in-law, Thomas Young, that he enjoyed every advantage afforded in those times for the acquisition of knowledge, and some acquaintance with learning, such as it was; but it should be remembered that few of the laity, as we have seen, obtained more than a scanty share of it. Canynges was no exception to the general rule, for station made little difference in this matter in the Middle Ages. It is highly probable the extent of his acquirements in this way related chiefly to the counting-house; the mercantile transactions of his every-day life; and a sufficient acquaintance with the world to enable him to discharge the duties of a senator. Canynges, too, is made by the same authority an *antiquary!* a collector of articles of vertû! but unfortunately for the truth of this, collectors were then unknown, and antiquarian merchants a nonentity. Here the young fabricator overstepped the mark, having in this little oversight given proof that the versatility of his powers of invention led him into

unquestionable error. Canynges an antiquary! yes, gentle Reader, and Barrett has preserved a list of the articles which his "Old Curiosity Shop" contained;—this list, as usual, was "copied from an old manuscript in his possession." I scarcely need add that the author was imposed upon by Chatterton in this as in many other instances. The frauds committed by that gifted but unfortunate youth have rendered much relating to ancient Bristol questionable, and cast a shade of uncertainty over almost everything which has reference to William Canynges and his history.

33. Little need be said in summing up the character of this worthy man, for such after his manner and in his time he undoubtedly was. Few things are more apparent than that he was wealthy, which with the vulgar constitutes respectability—with the thinking it is a mere adventitious circumstance, and one which alone never really elevates the possessor above his fellows. As a merchant he was eminent; as a magistrate, upright; as a senator, honourable. As a husband, devoted; as a father, affectionate; as a friend, faithful; as a master, kind and indulgent. He was a loyal subject, no matter what dynasty reigned,—he was a lover of the Church, and upheld its institutions, provided for its priests, and purchased its prayers with his opulence. Mendicant friars benefitted by his death, as they had done during his life; but

to the really deserving poor he bequeathed little to command a blessing. His benevolence reached the latter chiefly through his almoner; but the former were the objects of his own personal care, for they kept his conscience, and ministered to the supposed security of his soul. By them he was pomponsly buried because he paid them well to do it, and they panegyrised him afterwards in proportion to the value of his bequests. "We believe him to have shared the humanities of his age according to the lights of his age, and we rate him no higher. That he was a good son, a good father, a good husband, and a good citizen, are rational presumptions. That he was a kind master is more than a presumption, when we look to the witness of his grave in Redcliffe, with the spectacle of his servants sleeping round him. Regard his sober, stolid visage by the light of an evidently faithful portraiture, and we *see* that he was conscientious; 'honest as the skin between his brows,'—and we may add to Dogberry's image, almost equally contracted. We cannot even credit him with a lofty idealism for his retirement to a monastic seclusion ere he died. When the great Emperor Charles the Fifth and his great general the duke of Gandia, met in a monastery at the close of their lives, it was because they were sorrowfully but sublimely conscious what shadows we are and what shadows we pursue. But the motives which

prompted Canynges' retreat may be fairly illustrated by a letter of Sir Hugh Fenn, who was Canynge's cotemporary, and who wrote to Sir John Fastolf praying that certain law business of his might be concluded, that he might 'have the better leisure to dispose himself godly, and beset his lands and goods to the pleasure of God and the weal of his soul, that all men may say he died a wise man and a worshipful.' From such simple inducements we believe that Canynges withdrew himself from the little world in which his lot was cast, to the lesser and stiller world of the cloister, and there, in the spirit of the beautiful adage that 'repose is the milk of old age.' we may picture that he dozed and dreamed till, in the expressive phraseology of his time, his spirit '*passed*,' a placid exhalation into the deeps of eternity." (Illustrations of the History of Bristol and its Neighbourhood, by Samuel Lucas, M.A. Oxon., Barrister at Law of the Inner Temple, p. 289.)

34. Of the children of the second William Canynges scarcely any thing is recorded; two only are named, both of whom were sons, who died during the life-time of their father, but no mention is made even of their place of interment at death. Dallaway says "William (the eldest) married Isabel or Elizabeth, daughter and heir of John Vowel, Esquire, of Wells. She had a large jointure from her inherited property and from the settlement

(dated 1457) and bequest of her father-in-law, having re-married John Depeden, Esquire, of Bristol, by whom she left no issue. By her first husband she had two sons, Thomas and William, and one daughter, Agnes. Of Thomas I have discovered no farther than that he was of age in 1484, if not earlier, when he sold 'Canynges Place.' This alienation was disputed in Chancery, by William Spenser, the Executor, and the Chantry priests of Redcliffe, but confirmed. No mention is made of this elder son in William Canynges' will, and most probably because he inherited the estate of his mother, at Wells. The other son William and the daughter Agnes, both died minors; a fact certainly known, by the lapse of the Bristol property, which had been devised to them and their heirs, into the hands of William Spenser, the Mayor, the Corporation, and the Chantry priests of Redcliffe. John, the other son of William Canynges, left a widow, but no (surviving) children. Both these widows were endowed in his will."

35. With such of the residue of the second William Canynges property not otherwise disposed of, William Spenser, about the year 1493, as his executor, built an almshouse in Lewin's-mead, which it is said he dedicated to the Holy Trinity. It was founded for twelve persons, and "On the 5th Oct. 8th Henry VII. William Spenser or-

dained that 2s. should be weekly distributed unto twelve persons, well disposed, of the English nation, that had been householders in the said town (of Bristol.) and lived of alms in the almshouse, late builded by the said William Spenser, in Lewin's Mead, of the said town, with the goods of William Canynges, late of Bristowe, merchant, paying unto every of the said poor persons 2d. weekly; also, as often as there should happen any of the said poor folk to decease, or to be misgoverned, and would not be reformed by the chaplain, for the time being, then the said chaplain, by the advice of the said W^m. Spenser, during his life and afterwards by the advice of the mayor of Bristowe, for the time being, should put another person (English) in the place of the person so deceased or misgoverned, and that as often and when as such case should fortune, for evermore: And also, if it should fortune, for lack of the number of poor people being in the said almshouse, any part of the said 2s. weekly, should remain in the hands of the said chaplain undistributed, or not disposed of, then the said money, so remaining undisposed of, should be kept in his hands, towards the reparation of the said almshouse, and disposed by the said chaplain in reparation of the said house, by the advice of the mayor of Bristowe, for the time being, as often, and when, as need should be; of the which money and reparations the said chaplain for the time

being, should yield true account unto the said mayor, at such time as the said mayor should appoint in that behalf, and that ordinance to be kept for evermore." *(Report of the Commissioners on Charities, Vol. 1. p. 399.)*

36. This almshouse, which is now in a state of ruinous decay, stands opposite the site of the Grey Friars or Franciscan Monastery; and adjoining the Point-makers hall, now the Adam and Eve tavern; it has little in it interesting to the visitor, except by associating the past with the present. The street front is the only part claiming even a passing remark, and this may be dismissed by observing that it is but one story high, the upper part being supported on brackets, overhanging the foot way beneath, after the manner of the houses built in the Middle Ages. Behind this was a row of small dwellings having one room only, and that upon the ground floor. William Spenser the friend of Canynges and executor to his will, has long quitted the scene of his benevolence, and the Almshouse which bears his name, bids fair soon to be swept away, and to be remembered only as a thing that was, one old woman being now its sole occupant, at whose death it will be no more inhabited.

"A critical history of the whole edifice (Redcliffe Church) with biographical accounts of the founders and contributors would constitute an interesting and indeed an important literary memoir. I can only express a hope that it may be undertaken and achieved by a competent writer."

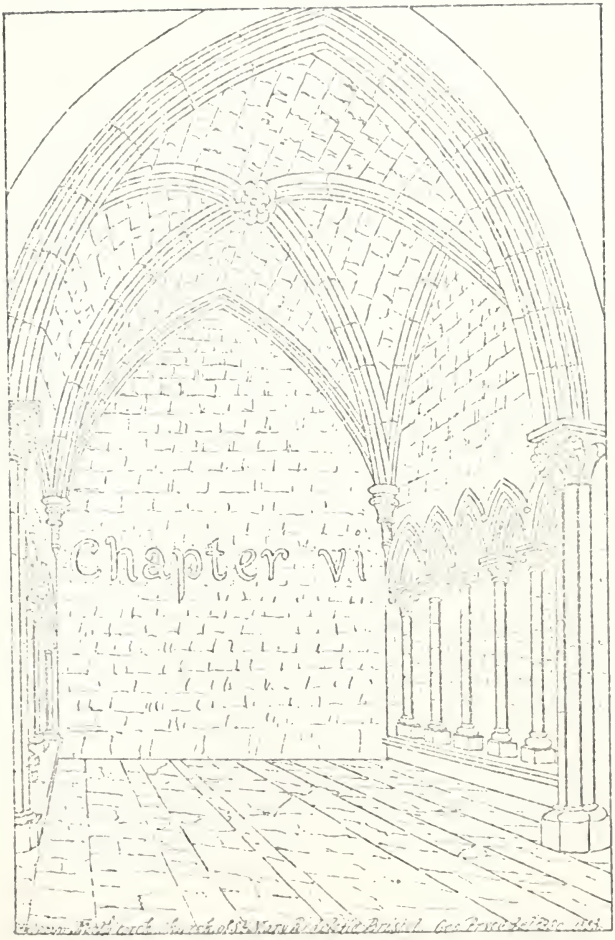
JOHN BRITTON, F.S.A.

"The accessible materials for tracing the history of the church are scanty, but might doubtless be now increased by a diligent investigator."

GEORGE GODWIN, F.R.S.

"The parochial church of St. Mary Redcliffe has been justly considered as the wonder of western England. Its great space, its accurate dimensions, and its elaborate architecture, have, upon fair comparison, intitled it to that singular praise. A circumstance, which has much enhanced this admiration, has been the report that it sprang from the munificence and perseverance of one benefactor. Let this fact be examined by adducing the best evidence, and that claim may be made subject to certain abatement."

REV. JAMES DALLAWAY, M.A.


Chapter VI

CHAPTER VI.

1. Redcliffe church, its uncertain history. 2.—Difficulty of the present inquiry. 3.—The first structure. 4.—Documents relating to Simon de Burton. 5.—Chatterton's testimony. 6.—Seyer and Robert Ricaut's statements examined. 7.—Hobson's M.S. 8.—Simon de Burton's tourneyment. 9.—He was not the founder of Redcliffe church. 10.—Necessity for examining the structure. 11.—Early English portions. 12.—When built, 13.—Leland. 14.—Simon de Burton, no interest in Redcliffe parish. 15.—Almshouse ascribed to him. 16.—No ancient document relating to it, discovered. 17.—Its erection "beyond the memory of man." 18.—John Burton. 19.—Simon de Burton did not build the almshouse. 20.—John Burton's chantries. 21.—Redcliffe church, inquiry continued. 22.—The tower and exterior north porch. 23.24.—Progress of their construction, slow, from want of contributions. 25.—Foundation of the body of the church laid. 26.—William Canynges, senior, a contributor only. 27.—The south transept, Decorated English architecture. 28.—Transition style in windows, &c. 29.—Barrett in error. 30.—Chancel of the church, Perpendicular English architecture. 31.—The architects employed. 32.—The nave of the church. 33.—William Canynges, junior, and others, finish the structure. 34.—Norton the architect. 35.—Fall of the spire, and Canynges donation towards repairing the damage, examined. 36.—Amount of injury done. 37.38—The contents of certain M.S.S. considered. 39.—Canynges gifts by Will for his obit. 40—Benefactions to his priests, to his servants and relations, and to the Corporation, &c., of Bristol. 41.—The Easter Sepulchre, at St. Mary Redcliffe. 42.—The "Mysteries and Moralities" of the Middle Ages. 43.—Object of the Author of this inquiry. 44. 45.—General Summary, &c.

1. It has been usual, as intimated in the pre-

ceding chapter, to ascribe the completion of the splendid church of St. Mary Redcliffe to the first William Canynges, which he is said to have carried on until finished, upon a foundation for his labours laid by Simon de Burton. Its restoration at a subsequent period has also been attributed solely to the *second* William Canynges, by writers who never took the trouble to investigate the subject with a view to ascertain whether their statements were founded in truth or not. In "An Appeal for the restoration of St. Mary Redcliffe," by Mr. Britton, that writer observes, "The church of Redcliffe is not only popularly called *Canynges' Work*, but the topographers of the city also ascribe it to a person of this name. Hence much error, and much confusion, have prevailed. There were several persons named Canynges, two of whom appear to have been rich merchants, mayors, and liberal benefactors to the poor and to the religious fraternities of Bristol. Barrett, Seyer, Evans, Dallaway, and other antiquaries, have failed to identify the works and deeds of the senior and junior members of that family.....Seyer and Evans have not made out the true history of the edifice, nor was my former essay at all successful." (Appendix L.)

2. The reading of such a statement as this from the pen of so able a man as Mr. Britton, instead of deterring me from attempting the difficult task

of making out "the true history of the edifice," acted as a stimulant to exertion, and in proceeding to examine the subject, and bring out the facts of the case as they stand recorded as much in the structure itself as in any other evidence, I have found it necessary to divest myself of all pre-conceived opinions based upon the writings of other authors, and come to the building, as in the main the only safe guide in my inquiries. Mystery has sufficiently stamped her impress upon every portion of this remarkable church to excite our interest, and tradition has set its broad seal of uncertainty upon the already dark enigma so indelibly, as to awaken curiosity regarding its history. Authors, too, have, upon this subject, spun an "entangled thread" which it requires much labour to unravel; and, as Mr. Britton has truly said, in his account of this structure, (p. 3) that "in examining the history of the Church of Redcliffe, the inquirer is alternately confounded by the opposite statements of different historians and topographers; discouraged by the absence of all satisfactory information, and perplexed amidst the mazes of falsehood and forgery. Many of the particulars recorded by former writers depend for their authenticity on no better authority than the manuscripts of Chatterton, and even those statements that have been collected and published from original documents, are deprived of their appropriate weight by the suspicion

that attaches to every historical record connected with the subject. The writers who have paid the most assiduous attention to the early history of the church are perpetually at variance, and the manuscript memoranda contained in different collections, and relating to the more recent stages of inquiry are equally uncertain and unsatisfactory."

3. The Rev. James Dallaway in his "Essay on the Life and Times of William Canynges," expresses an opinion that the first structure erected on the site of St. Mary's "was not built before the reign of Henry III.," and that "it was founded by contribution, oblations for indulgences, and legacies of those who had newly inhabited Redcliffe-street as the feudal tenants of the Lords Berkeley, in right of their great manor of Bedminster." But this opinion, as far as I am aware, is opposed to that of all other writers upon the subject; for gifts towards the repair of a previous structure, appear to have been made so early as 1207, 1229, and 1230. Various indulgences were also granted between the years 1232, and 1287, to all who should "devoutly visit the church of the Blessed Mary of Redcliffe, in Bristol, and there charitably contribute towards the repair of the same, and pray for the souls of those there interred." (Barrett, p. 567.) These indulgences I regard as peculiar to the church mentioned by Dallaway, but all the former gifts

certainly refer to a similar edifice constructed here, before it is attempted to be shewn by any writer that the oldest part of the present fabric was raised; and the documents referring to them are said by Mr. Britton "to have been found in Canynges' chests, and notwithstanding they were the gift of Chatterton to Barrett, their number, the difficulties that would have prevented their execution by the want of specific evidence to their fabrication, and their coincidence with other documents, to which it does not appear that Chatterton had access, are in favor of their reception as genuine authorities." *(Redcliffe Church, p. 6.)*

4. The principal documentary evidence upon which it has been attempted to show that Simon de Burton was the *founder* of the church of St. Mary Redcliffe, and whose claim to that honour must be first considered, is recorded in Barrett, p. 568, where is an account of this circumstance which is said to have been "transcribed from a parchment manuscript of Rowley's, communicated by Chatterton." Another authority is that noted by the Rev. Samuel Seyer, in his "Memorials of Bristol," vol. ii. p. 77, and a third is by Robert Ricaut, who was appointed Town Clerk of Bristol in the year 1479. An examination of the claims of these documents to credibility will first necessarily occupy a brief space, after which I shall proceed to ascertain how far the church itself

verifies the truth of the statements contained in them.

5. With regard to the first of these authorities little need be said to convince the intelligent reader that small indeed is the amount of confidence to be placed in the writings of Chatterton, nor is it necessary to enter into a discussion in this place in order to disprove their authenticity. It will suffice to remark that the grave references to his forgeries by Mr. Barrett in many parts of his work are positively ludicrous, "indicative" says a local writer, "not only of the profoundest architectural ignorance, but of a natural incapacity to imbibe any knowledge from observation." It is a subject of deep regret that this unfortunate youth should have palmed off so many writings upon that author as the productions of Rowley, which are now rejected as spurious; and equally to be lamented that a writer should have received them from a mere boy with so little caution, and incorporated with his history so many documents of a dubious character. We are not surprised that the result of this culpable inattention should have cast a considerable amount of doubt over many portions of the narrative of that writer; and that perplexity should frequently embarrass the inquirer in his endeavour to separate truth from error, and fact from fiction. It would have been well had all our local historians referred to the structure of which they have writ-

ten for the date of its erection, rather than to the fabricated testimony of which they appear to have been but too ready to avail themselves. In neglecting this necessary duty, most, if not all of them, have been led astray in many of their statements through the aptitude of an artful youth in manufacturing counterfeit documents purporting to have been preserved in the chests of William Canynges, and produced by the genius of Thomas Rowley, a priest in the reign of Edward IV.

6. I shall now offer a few observations on the statement of the Rev. Samuel Seyer, and that of Robert Ricaut, the Town Clerk. The former in his Work, as already noticed, says, "It was about the year 1293 or 1294, that Simon de Bourton, a person of wealth and consequence who was Mayor of Bristol in that year, and bore the same office six times, built the church of St. Mary Redcliffe, where the eastern end now is." The above is given by Mr. Seyer, on the authority of manuscript calendars, the writer of which is not named; but as so many forgeries have been perpetrated in connection with the chronicles of ancient Bristol, we shall do well to withhold our assent to the correctness of this assertion until the genuine character of the document has been established beyond dispute; (Appendix M.) for it is a well authenticated historical fact that all the calendars of acknowledged authority relating to the ancient city, and

the validity of which was undoubted, were destroyed by an accidental fire in 1466; and in the same disaster perished also the valuable library of the Calendaries (who kept these records) rich in Saxon and later chronicles. These Calendars were monthly registers of all public acts, including deeds, rolls, &c., which it was the business of this brotherhood to preserve, and the loss of which was irreparable. Of this fraternity Robert Ricaut was a member, and his chronicle, still in the custody of the Corporation, is a valuable register of all public transactions relating to Bristol from the year of his appointment as Town Clerk, in 1479; and passing events are prefaced, as it would seem, with such notes of by-gone incidents as either himself or his brethren could remember to have been entered in the records so unfortunately destroyed. On referring to this Calendar, I find it reads thus:—"1293. Thys yere the above sayd Simon de Burton (then Mayor) began to builde Redclyf Churche." No mention whatever being made of any particular part of the structure as in Seyer's record, nor is another word added in registering the event to which the entry in the Calendar has reference. Barrett, p. 568, upon the authority of the parchment presented him by Chatterton, says, that "Inne M.C.CLXXXXI hee (Simon de Burton) ybuylden a godelye chyrch from a patterne of St. Oswaldes Abbyes Chyrche;"—Seyer and

Robert Ricaut place the date of this event two years later, and the former of these two writers states that the structure was commenced "where the eastern end now is." That no such church was founded by Simon de Burton at the point indicated by Seyer, will, I think, be clearly made out as we proceed to examine the fabric; and that both Barrett and himself were deceived by fictitious documents can scarcely be doubted, since the latter gives no authority for his statement, and the former relies on the testimony of a parchment coming through the hands of Chatterton. The record of Robert Ricaut also with regard to this circumstance, would be entitled to much more respect, could it be shewn that he derived his information otherwise than from memory—thirteen years having elapsed between the destruction of all the *authentic* Calendars of the city, upon which *alone* any reliance could be placed, and the time of his election to the office of Town Clerk. Barrett at page 506, (speaking of St. Leonard's church) says "it is mentioned in a deed, 25 Edward 1st. 1297, wherein Simon de Burton, about this time founding Redcliffe church, grants &c:"—here Barrett makes a difference of several years without noticing the error!—so much for *dates* respecting the *commencement* of this structure.

7. Before quitting this part of the subject it may be mentioned that another manuscript entitled

"Hobson's," (quoted by Barrett, p. 569,) says, "Simon de Burton, mayor, in 1294, had two years before began to build Redcliffe church, but he lived not to finish it, which afterwards William Canynges did, and gave lands to repair it for ever." This document, it will be seen, differs in point of date from either of the three before quoted; and the finishing of the church by William Canynges as there stated, will be sufficiently shewn to be incorrect as we proceed in our examination of the edifice; the gift also of lands for the purpose of repairing the church will likewise appear to be founded in error.

8. Very little is known of Simon de Burton beyond the fact that he was an opulent merchant, and that he filled the highest civic dignity in old Bristol no less than six times,—his last year of office being 1305—soon after which date he is believed to have died. His birth is stated in the parchment manuscript ascribed to Rowley and presented by Chatterton to Barrett, to have taken place "on the eve of the annunciation M.C.CXXXXXV."—if so, he must have been steward of the old town at the early age of twenty-five, (Barrett says he filled that office in 1290,) and mayor when he had attained his twenty-sixth year only: (see Barrett, p. 673,)—this I regard as not merely incredible, but going very far to vitiate the validity of the document in its entirety. At

twenty, according to the same manuscript, (six years before he was first mayor,) he engaged in a tournament in the presence of "Kynge Edwarde" who "kepte hys Chrystmasse at Bryghtstowe," with "Syrre Ferrars Nevylle" who had already overthrown two Knights in the rencontre, and "then dyd Syrre Symonne de Byrtonne avow that if he overthrowen Syrre Ferrars Nevylle, he woulde there creete & buylde a chyrche to owre Ladye" on the spot where the struggle for the mastery took place, which was "on Sayncte Maryes Hylle." Having "encountered vygorously and bore Syrre Ferrars horse and man to the grounde remaynynge konynge, victore knyght of the Jouste, and settynge atte the ryghte honde of K. Edwarde," he proceeded to fulfil his vow in the "ybuylden a godelye chyrch." after the pattern before stated, and which on "the day of our Lordes natyvyty M.C.C.C.I., Gylbert de Sante Leonfardoe Byshope of Chychestre dyd dedicate it to the Holie Vyrgynne Mary moder of Godde."

9. From the foregoing remarks it is certain that little reliance can be placed upon the documents adduced to prove that Simon de Burton *founded* Redcliffe church. Barrett's authority is a manifest forgery; those of Seyer and Hobson may be classed in the same category; and the most respectable of all is deprived of much of its credibility from the fact that it must have been recorded from the

aid of memory alone. None of them agree in the particulars they have stated either as to date or circumstances; hence they are all alike open to suspicion, and until some more positive and trustworthy evidence is brought to light, proving beyond dispute that Simon de Burton *alone* and at his own sole cost *founded* any particular portion of the church, we are bound to discard the vague and uncertain testimony contained in the documents above cited, as altogether, in this matter at least, unworthy our regard.

10. From these unsatisfactory sources of intelligence, I now proceed to the structure itself, in examining which a very careful investigation of its many parts, as well as a cautious consideration of the various styles of architecture observable in the building is necessary, before we can arrive at any thing like a safe conclusion regarding the date at which the several beautiful portions of which it consists were erected.

11. In prosecuting these inquiries it will be obvious that the oldest parts of the edifice have a primary claim upon our attention, for with them our examination will, as a matter of course, have its commencement. A careful inspection of this church will shew, that notwithstanding some incongruities, the result of modern eccentricities, the first erections of the present structure were the lower stage of the tower, the interior north porch,

(see Illustration at the beginning of this Chapter) and the most westerly arch at that end of the north aisle of the nave. (Appendix N.) All these portions are of pure Early English architecture, and the date of their construction may possibly vary some twenty years, but I have no hesitation in stating that they were all commenced before the year 1230, and finished at furthest in 1250,—that is, from forty to sixty years before it is stated in either of the Calendars I have quoted, that "Simon de Burton began to builde Redclyf Churche." It is clear, therefore, that of these parts of the structure he was not the *founder*, and we must look to some other portion of the edifice for the work of this wealthy individual. On this point Mr. Dallaway remarks, "Nothing that I have hitherto seen tends to evidence that Simon de Burton was the sole founder of the original church, if he then lived; for the date of his mayoralty is at least sixty years subsequently to it." (Appendix O.)

12. In addition to the examples of Early English architecture to which I have referred, it appears extremely probable the first church on this spot was *finished* in that style; for it is deserving note here, that in the present restoration of the structure it became necessary to remove part of the exterior wall on the north side of the chancel, between the clerestory windows and the parapet, in doing which portions of *Early English columns,*

characteristic of that fashion in architecture, were discovered, (Proceedings of the Archæological Institute, 1851, p. xxxv.) the reverse side of which were wrought into Perpendicular English panelling—this part of the present church being constructed in that mode of building. The Early English portions of the fabric formed, as it seems to me, part of the structure founded here as already mentioned "by contribution, oblations for indulgences, and legacies of those who had newly inhabited Redcliffe street as the feudal tenants of the Lords Berkeley, in right of their great manor of Bedminster." Its continuation was effected by means of the indulgences of which also I have spoken, as having been granted between the years 1232, and onward to the close of the period assigned by Mr. Britton, in his "Sketch of a Nomenclature of Ancient Architecture," to the duration of the Early English Style, which he says extended to about 1272, and which I regard as correct; it then ceased to be practised, by the introduction of a new fashion in building denominated "Decorated English." It is impossible to reconcile the date above fixed by Mr. Britton in his Nomenclature, to the practice of the Early English Style, with the following remarks in his account of this church at page 7—"The foundation of the Great Church is ascribed by all parties to Simon de Burton." And again at page 11—"The middle

north porch is certainly the oldest portion, and this corresponds in its pilaster columns, arches, and mouldings, with the buildings of the thirteenth century. At this age it appears that Simon de Burton lived, and was engaged, in 1292, either in constructing a new church, or re-edifying a former building. Here then," continues Mr. Britton, "we find a part of the edifice, (though certainly only a very small part) correspond with a specific date." It is much to be feared that this writer, in ascribing, with "all parties," the *founding* of the church to Simon de Burton, has been led away, like Barrett, Seyer, and others, by the forged manuscripts of Chatterton, submitted to him by private individuals for inspection; and in allotting the building of the inner north porch to that individual, he has committed a palpable error in giving him credit for the erection of a portion of the edifice in a style of architecture, which had ceased to be practised, according to his own shewing, twenty years previous to the commencement of the building in 1292." (Appendix P.) Simon de Burton having already "been advanced," says Mr. Britton, "to the mayoralty of Bristol three times." This also is a mistake, for the name of that wealthy merchant first occurs in the annals of old Bristol in 1290, as Seneschal or Steward, and not as *Mayor*. In the following year he filled the latter office for the first time; again in 1294, when we are told that two

years before he founded the church of St. Mary Redcliffe, and also erected the alms-house in the Long-Row in St, Thomas parish. (Barrett, p. 569, and Seyer, vol. ii. p. 77.) I cannot but think it would have been much better had each of the writers mentioned have taken Leland as an authority rather than to have followed the dubious testimony of manuscript calendars, the "cunningly devised fables" of counterfeit chroniclers. That old writer makes no mention whatever of Simon de Burton having founded Redcliffe Church; his words are (Itinerary, p. 96.) "The Almese Howse by Seynt Thomas Churche is called Burton's Almes Howse. Burton, Maior of the Towne and Founder is buried in it."

13. In this quotation from Leland, the great pioneer in all antiquarian research in this country, and who visited Bristol about the 26th year of Henry VIII., it will be seen that no allusion even is made to Simon de Burton's connection with Redcliffe Church. Of this fact Mr. Britton himself was cognizant when he wrote his account of the structure, (see note, p. 7;) and yet he strangely persists in recording on the same page, that "the foundation of the Great Church is ascribed *by all parties* to *Simon* de Burton." Now it is well known that Leland in all his researches, was guided by written documents only, when forming an estimate as to the foundation of a building; and

when these were wanting, he was content to pass the subject by, and leave it as obscure as he found it. This silence therefore on the part of the great antiquary with respect to any documents relating to the History of Redcliffe Church, I cannot but regard as at least negative evidence that no such writings were then known to be in existence, excepting the Calendar of Robert Ricaut; and even this, if examined by Leland, would have been rejected as unsatisfactory, because, as he would discover, recorded but a few years before, and then probably only from memory.

14. Before again passing on to examine the church itself, I would just observe that as Simon de Burton is said to have founded an *almshouse* in the parish of *St. Thomas*, it is not very likely he began to build a *church* in that of *St. Mary Redcliffe*,—a parish in which he does not appear to have had any greater interest than many other wealthy men of his time; nor does it seem that he even possessed any property whatever in it. That he contributed towards such an erection is highly probable, and perhaps laid the foundation stone of some part not yet referred to; and this, I conceive, to be the meaning we are to attach to the calendar of Robert Ricaut. Had he been the *founder* of the church, or *begun in reality to build it*, as the record would seem to intimate, surely he would have been entombed in it rather than in an

almshouse! It must be remembered also, that many wealthy merchants and opulent families resided in Redcliffe parish in the time of Simon de Burton; whilst the little we know of the latter, rather induces the belief that his domicile was situated in Corn-street, in the parish of St. Leonard. *(Barrett, p. 506.)*

15. The almshouse here mentioned, is situated in Long Row, in the parish of St. Thomas: on its front it bears the following modern inscription:—"This almshouse was erected in the year 1292, for Sixteen Persons, by Simon de Burton, and Rebuilt, Anno Domini, 1721. He was five (six) times Mayor of this City, and the Original Founder of St. Mary Redcliffe Church." The "Orphan Book" in the Corporation archives records that in "1292, Simon de Burton gave land by will, producing 4s. per week, vested in the Corporation of Bristol, to the relief of 16 poor people in an almshouse erected by him in the "Long Row;" and a modern inscription on one of the benefaction tables in the parish church also bears its testimony to the fact of the structure having been founded by the same individual. But the question of authenticity arises here as it does with regard to Redcliffe church; for it is evident that the inscription on the front of the almshouse, as well as that on the board in the church of St. Thomas, is only a transcript from the

"Orphan Book"—a calendar which came into existence *many ages after Simon de Burton is said to have lived*, and is therefore as much open to suspicion as any document connected with the subject. The almshouse mentioned by Leland, may not after all own *Simon* de Burton for its founder; and yet to a person of the same sirname, we may, I have no doubt, correctly ascribe that honour.

16. It is somewhat extraordinary that although the authorities of St. Thomas' church, possess a great number of well preserved and genuine documents, extending over several hundred years, the whole of which have passed under my inspection, not one has any reference whatever to *Simon* de Burton. The Report of the Charity Commissioners in allusion to the inscription on the Benefaction Table in the church, says, "We have been unable to gain any further information respecting the foundation thus recorded; nor do we find any subsequent mention of the almshouse, either on the tables in the church, or among any other of the parish documents, until about the beginning of the 16th century;" after which time several endowments occur, the first of which is dated in 1523. The Commissioners add that "in the grant of St. Thomas' market by Queen Elizabeth, in the 13th year of her reign, (1572) this almshouse is spoken of as having existed 'beyond the memory of man,'

having been maintained chiefly by the inhabitants of St. Thomas-street."

17. Upon the strength of this last statement, a local writer, (see *Bristol Times*, February 25th, 1853,) without apparently examining the subject at all, has jumped to the conclusion, that because the almshouse is said in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, to have "existed beyond the memory of man" —"it is therefore only fair to infer, in the absence of proof to the contrary, that it is as old as the tablet (on its front) asserts it to be." It scarcely need be insisted on in this place, that the import of the expression "beyond the memory of man," is synonymous with a phrase in common use at the present time, in which, when a person wishes to convey an idea as to the antiquity of any thing, the date of which has escaped record, refers to the "oldest inhabitant" as having no knowledge of the time when it was constructed, or when it had an origin.

18. By searching the records of St. Thomas' parish, we find that somewhat more than a century before the expression referred to was written, and therefore "beyond the memory of man,"—lived the only other person of the name of Burton, of whom any mention is made in connection with it up to the time specified. This person was *John* Burton, a wealthy merchant and founder of a chantry in the church there, and he is not unlikely

to have built the almshouse in question. Referring to this individual, the Charity Commissioners remark, "If any inaccuracy might be supposed to have found its way, during the lapse of so many centuries, into the inscription as it now appears on the benefaction board, it would afford room for a surmise, that this almshouse was of a much later foundation than that which is above attributed to it; and that it derived its origin from *John* Burton, who, in the certificate of the commissioners under the statute of Chantries, (now remaining in the Augmentation office) is stated to have founded a chantry in St. Thomas' church, 'by license of King Henry the Sixth, who, by his letters patent, did incorporate the same for a priest to sing in the said church, for ever; and part of the issues and profits of the lands to be bestowed in alms, as in buying wood, and other charitable deeds to the relief of the poor.' The lands are certified of the yearly value of £14 4*s*. whereof there was yearly paid to the relief of the poor people 28*s*. 4*d*."

19. From the extraordinary fact that no record exists of any land left by *Simon* de Burton for the maintenance of this almshouse, as stated in the "Orphan Book"—that his name does not appear in connection with the Parish of St. Thomas in any gift, donation, or bequest whatsoever, *to this or any other charity*—and that no mention is made of any bestowment for its maintenance until the year

1523, previous to which time it was supported by the inhabitants of St. Thomas street—we may well doubt the truth of the statement in that document, which, like the "Mayor's Calendar" by Robert Ricaut, the Town Clerk, is, upon all matters relating to transactions such as this, where no Will is preserved, a suspicious source of information—having been compiled from memory only after the fire in 1466 which destroyed the public records. Inaccuracies innumerable would as a matter of course, find their way into such a register "during the lapse of so many centuries;" and as a consequence, "ample room for a surmise, that this almshouse is of a much later foundation than that which is attributed to it," is the result of so much uncertainty; and we naturally conclude, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, that this almshouse, any more than the church of St Mary Redcliffe, did not derive its origin from *Simon* de Burton. Tradition has assigned both to him, and that is deemed sufficient to establish the fact, by those who are either too indolent for making researches which may cost them a little labour; or unequal to the task of an examination which demands a certain amount of information they do not possess—and in this way unconfirmed by any thing authentic—error descends from age to age until the means of investigation are lost to the inquirer in after generations.

20. Long Row was formerly called "Burton's Lane," as appears by "An Inquisition of Mr. Thomas Hart's lands taken 28th February, 1583," in which mention is made of his dying possessed of seven tenements and five cellars, in "Burton's Lane," which thoroughfare, I doubt not, derived its name from *John* Burton, and not from his more renowned namesake of an earlier age. This gentleman was bailiff in 1416; Sheriff in 1418; MAYOR in 1423, 1429, 1448, and 1450; and member of parliament, in 1422, 1423, 1426 and 1427. He appears to have founded a chantry *in the church of St. Mary Redcliffe;* and of that established by him in St. Thomas's Church, the following is extracted from the Registers of the parish:—

THE RECEIPTS OF BURTON'S CHAWNTRIES.
REDCLYF STRETE.

Off John Wait for a Tenement	...	xxvj^{s}	viij^{d}
Off Davy Cradocke for a Tenement	...	xx^{s}	
Off Davy Cradocke for a nother Tenement		x^{s}	
Off Leonard Hancock for a Tenement	...	xxvj^{s}	viij^{d}
Off Thomas Peyson for a Tenement	...	xij^{s}	
Sum totl.....iiij^{li} xv^{s} iiij^{d}			

Then follows receipts for property on "the Bridge and Wyne strete, Temple strete," and "Myghell hill."

The total receipts of Burton's Chantry were xiij^{li} vij^{s} iiij^{d}.

The Payments of Burton's Chauntre.

Quyte Rents	Imprimis, to the Calenders for a house that Reve the Tinker dwelleth in		xi$^{s.}$	viij$^{d.}$
	Item, paid to the Chamberleyn for a ten^{t} that M$^{r.}$ White holdeth in Wyne strete		vj^{s}	viij^{d}
	Item paid to Saynt James for a tenement that M$^{r.}$ Spring holdeth			xij$^{d.}$
	Sum tot^{l} xix$^{s.}$ iiij$^{d.}$			
The Priste.	Item paid to P$^{r.}$ (Peter) Griffithe for a years wages	vi^{li}	viij$^{s.}$	iiij$^{d.}$
	Item for bredde and wyne		vij^{s}	vi$^{d.}$
	Sum tot^{l} vj^{li} xv$^{s.}$ x$^{d.}$			

Then follows "Reperacions upon the Chawntrie Londys," and the expenses of "Burton's Obbytt."

The total of payments was xj^{li} xviij$^{s.}$ ix$^{d.}$

Taken from "The Accompte of John Brampton and John Phelyps, Wardeyns of the parysshe Churche and Chawntries of Saynt Thomas the appostell in the Cytie of Brystowe, made the iiij. day of October in the xxxvjth year of the Reign of our soveraign Lorde Kyng Henry the Eight."

21. We now turn from the Early English portions of the present church, and with the erection of which it is evident Simon de Burton was in no way connected,—to the next oldest part of the structure, which will be found in an arch opening from the north side of the west end of the

nave beneath the tower; and the mouldings of which connect it with the acutely pointed lancet arch at the west end of the north aisle before mentioned. Above these, the majestic superstructure of the tower rises heavenward in all the beautiful proportions and finished excellence of which the Decorated English style of building is capable. From the fact that the first named arch is an early specimen in this latter fashion, I am inclined to believe that this was the last built of the four sides which comprise the first stage of the tower,—the other three being, as we have seen, constructed in the Early English mode of building. I have no idea, however, that even in this arch we shall find any thing to connect the building of the church with Simon de Burton,—the date of its erection being, as I think, not later than the year 1280—that is to say, it was constructed at a very early period after the discontinuance of the Early English fashion in 1272, and the adoption of the Decorated English style from about that date. On each side of the soffit of this Decorated arch is an addition in the Perpendicular mode, consisting of three clustered pilaster columns, under a square-headed capital, having also a similar base beneath the pavement of the church, peculiar to that style. This addition I conceive must have been placed there for the sake of giving strength to the arch it supports, when the Perpendicular portions at the

west end of the nave were added to the tower of the church.

22. In the continuance of the superstructure of the tower, and the construction of the *exterior* north porch, both being in the latter mode of building, we recognize a new era in relation to the erection of the church of St. Mary Redcliffe. As the former undoubtedly progressed by means of funds supplied by the wealthy inhabitants of the parish, with the assistance of such non-residents as were friendly to the undertaking, the previously erected structure, towards the repair of which indulgences had long been granted, and gifts had been bestowed, was by degrees removed to make way for a fabric commensurate with the ideas of those noble minded men, as to what was a befitting house of God. The result of this benevolence, next to the continuance of the tower, was the erection of an exterior north porch in the same costly style of architecture, which should vie with any known example; and with the construction of which the name of Simon de Burton is imperishably associated, if it be so with the building of the church at all; as the date of the *foundation* of this part of the structure is undoubtedly referable to the commencement of the fourteenth century (although probably not finished for many years afterwards) at which time Simon de Burton was chief magistrate of old Bristol, and Edward I.

occupied the throne of England. Then the Decorated style of English architecture, of which this exterior north porch is a gem, began to luxuriate in all its richness of detail and elegance of finish in every structure of note throughout the city,—over which the former wielded the sword of civic power, and the kingdom over which the latter swayed the sceptre of regal authority.

23. The construction of a building of such magnitude as the tower of this church, was an important undertaking at that time, and must have occupied its projectors for a considerable period. It is customary to regard the first William Canynges as the builder of the entire of this part of the edifice, (see Britton, p. 11) but this opinion, I think, cannot be sustained; for however we may revere his memory, and award him all due honour in connection with the erection of this church, it must not be forgotten that the Le Fraunceys, De la Rivieres, and many other rich merchants, as already intimated,—contemporary both with De Burton and himself,—were undoubtedly engaged in the pious undertaking; and the truth in all probability is, that having resolved to rebuild the church on a more extensive scale, they proceeded with the tower, and then, while it was advancing, added the exterior north porch, the foundation stone of which was most likely laid in due form by Simon de Burton—a compliment paid him by

his fellow townsmen as their chief magistrate. To the church of St. Mary, the Le Fraunceys were great benefactors, and in it they had founded chantries in the time of this first William Canynges,—here also they were sepulchred, (Appendix Q) and it is but reasonable to conclude that they contributed towards the erection of the structure with a liberality equal to that of either Simon de Burton or the first William Canynges, neither of whom seem to have resided in the parish, and only the latter had any possession in it whatsoever. (Appendix R)

24. Should the reader, on comparing the date when Simon de Burton is said to have "begun to builde Redclyf Churche," with that in which the elder William Canynges flourished, be disposed to question the correctness of the above remarks, because some seventy-six years intervened; and regard it as a long time spent in building the parts of the fabric referred to, he has only to reflect that in the Middle Ages, Bristol, although a place of considerable mercantile importance, was comparatively but a small town, in which there were few persons able to bestow much of their gains upon church-building; most of the contributions of the wealthy in those days being given to monasteries, to secure their souls from after pains and penalties. Hence we read in our local histories of so few gifts towards the erection of churches, compared

with the vast bestowments in lands, money, plate, jewels,—and in short, every possible kind of wealth which could increase the possessions of these religious houses. To them monarchs gave of their abundance with unsparing hand—upon them princes and opulent nobles lavished their resources,—and to be buried within their precincts was regarded as so special an act of favour, that to obtain this supposed advantage, entire estates were bequeathed to monastic institutions, and the posterity of the donors were disinherited of their patrimonies, to fill the coffers of so-called self denying monks, who, although sworn to a life of poverty, revelled in their secluded haunts in luxury and vice. Not a religious house in old Bristol but was enriched by wealth obtained from the poor slave to superstition, who, under the dread of a lengthened dwelling in purgatorial fires, impoverished his progeny to augment the possessions of his ghostly counsellors; and beggared his children to fill the exchequer of these indolent and dissolute religionists! How striking is the contrast in this particular of giving, between the ennobled family of Berkeley and that of the Canynges to the period of which I am writing. So much had been bestowed by the former upon monastic institutions that at length they had but one small piece of preferment in the Church to bestow; whilst of the Canynges up to the death of this first William,

not a word is recorded of any gift, except of the most trifling character to either church or monastery; and speaking particularly of Redcliffe Church, Mr. Dallaway says "William Canynges (Senr) leaves (at his death) only twenty shillings as a customary dole to the vicar. "Is it probable?" asks this writer, "that if he had *built* the church, he would have so poorly remunerated its minister?" By referring to the will, page 57, the reader will see that this donation, small as it is, was left to the church of St. Thomas, where William Canynges was buried, and not to the vicar of Redcliffe. Nothing whatever is left to the latter fabric, which in my "Notes," (p. 139,) and in a subsequent communication to the Society of Antiquaries,—trusting to the correctness of Mr. Dallaway's extract from the will, I repeated, without examining for myself, the statement he has made; since which time, having had that document, with many others, placed in my hands, I regret to discover the fact here mentioned. Still it is not of any moment, except that it deprives the first William Canynges of the credit of having contributed at all by bequest towards building the church of St. Mary Redcliffe. It also teaches me that the best authors are liable to error, and that all documents quoted by them should undergo personal inspection when discussing a subject like the present—this I have

now done in all cases—hence the discovery above mentioned.

25. But I have no doubt that with the erection of the tower and exterior north porch, other parts of the church were at the same time time also progressing. No person acquainted with the subject, on examining the structure, can fail to have remarked that the whole of the lower stage of the edifice throughout, from end to end, is constructed in the Decorated style of English architecture. From this fact it would appear that with the finishing of the tower, and the erection of the exterior north porch, the *foundation* of the entire church had been laid: and as the two portions named may be regarded as examples of rather an early date in the Decorated English style, so the whole of the columns throughout the nave, chancel and aisles, to the summit of their capitals, with the exceptions at the west end already mentioned, may be referred to as specimens of the same fashion, but erected at a later period—the tower and exterior north porch progressing in the time of Simon de Burton, who laid, as I think, the foundation of the latter,—and the body of the church in the pillars to their capitals from east to west, in that of the first William Canynges, who performed the same ceremony in regard to the latter portion of the structure; and who is said in the Mayor's Calendar

to have "built the body of Redcliffe church from the cross aisle downwards, and so the church was finished as it is now;"—that is, as I think we should understand it—he laid the foundation of the entire fabric eastward, beyond those parts already commenced, and which were advancing towards completion. On examining the will of this first William Canynges, (see p. 57,) we search in vain as already stated, for any gift or donation bestowed in any shape whatever to *the church* of St. Mary Redcliffe—nor is any sum mentioned as being left to any person connected with it, except "to the vicar of Redcliffe for forgotten tythes and oblations, six shillings and eightpence" —which must have remained unpaid for the only solitary tenement he is believed to have possessed in the parish! As, therefore, all the property of this first William Canynges, with the above exception lay in the parish of St. Thomas, where also he carried on an extensive manufacture in cloths, and in the church of which, both himself, his wife, and his son John were buried,—surely it is a fair presumption that at most, he, like Simon de Burton, merely contributed, with the Le Fraunceys and others who resided in the parish, and who possessed it nearly in its entirety—towards the pious work; for that it was constructed by means of donations, legacies, &c., and not by any private individual, is clear from the fact that John Muleward, by will

dated in 1388, bequeathed a sum of money to be applied to this very building which was then in process of erection. In agreement with this opinion, Barrett observes (History, p. 569,) "William Canynges was for the sixth time mayor of Bristol in the year 1389, a merchant of great fortune, weight and respect among his fellow citizens; in a station of life fitted to be a leading man, and to have the character of a founder of such a work, *promoted no doubt by donations by will, and voluntary contributions of other devout and well-disposed people, as well as by grants and indulgences from the Bishops of those days.*"

26. In closing these remarks upon the first William Canynges and his participation in the erection of Redcliffe church, I may add as stated in my "Notes" already before the public, that *no record whatever has yet been brought to light, to prove that he was in any way connected with the erection of the structure before us, other than as a contributor,*—the circumstance of his being the *founder* of the church, resting entirely upon unconfirmed tradition and some scattered MSS., to which no value is attached, because probably the forgeries of Chatterton.

27. It is scarcely necessary to remind the reader that the erection of nearly all our large ecclesiastical structures was uniformly commenced at the east end, and when sufficient was completed

for the purposes of Divine worship, it was consecrated, and the work proceeded as funds were raised for the purpose: but in the structure before us it is manifest on examination that this course was departed from; for the only portion of the church which exhibits any Decorated English Architecture above the capitals of the columns rising from the foundation, is the south transept, which throughout may be regarded as a beautiful example of that rich and elaborate mode of building,—every column, capital, and window, with the tracery which adorns them, being wrought in that elegant style of architecture. It is not improbable this south transept may be regarded as peculiarly that part of the edifice to which the first William Canynges more especially contributed; and that to his fostering care it is indebted for its erection;—not indeed by his aid alone, but with the assistance of others who also gave largely of their wealth towards its completion. This, it is evident, was not accomplished until the Decorated English style in architecture, which almost imperceptibly glided into the Perpendicular mode, had commenced what has been appropriately denominated a "Transition style," when it is sometimes extremely difficult to determine by what name to designate any example under inspection. This remark is peculiarly applicable to the interior of the roof and other portions of the upper part of this transept—

so nearly allied is it to both the Decorated and the Perpendicular styles of building. The whole interior of this part of the structure may, however, be classed generally under the former fashion, and its completion, both internally and externally, to the moulding which runs round the church beneath the parapet on the outside, may be regarded as having been accomplished during the life time of the first William Canynges. It is worthy observation that while the whole of the exterior of the body of the church—the nave, north transept, and chancel,—except the east end of the latter—is adorned with panelling in the Perpendicular style, this south transept *only* should be totally devoid of any such adornment,—*all* the walls being quite bare. (Appendix S.)

28. This transition from the Decorated to the Perpendicular style of English architecture, is more observable in the windows of the structure, than in any other part of it. The large window in the north transept exactly corresponds with that in the south part of the building opposite, both being of pure Decorated design. Those also in the aisles of the former part of the structure, are for the most part Decorated English also, but in some respects they so closely approximate to the Perpendicular style, that it is difficult to decide as to which fashion they really belong. In the east window of the chancel the resemblance to the Perpen-

dicular style is more decided—the lateral mullions indicating the first approach towards the new fashion, by running directly into the head of the arch, whilst every other feature of the window is Decorated English—a style just discarded when the death of the first William Canynges took place—and the advent of the latter or Perpendicular mode was about to be ushered in by its universal adoption as a national style of architecture. In this new fashion in building the whole of the superstructure of the church is erected; and to the invention of which the preceding remarks have gradually conducted us.

29. Mr. Barrett, at page 570 of his work says, "that the first William Canynges lived to the year 1396, when the church was probably finished." This remark, however, is "indicative of the profoundest architectural ignorance;" for, as the Decorated style *ceased to be practised* about the time that worthy man died, and the Perpendicular English style *had not been invented*, it is obvious that those parts of the church *only*, which have already passed under review, could have been erected *previously*. For the building of the remainder we are undoubtedly referred to a period *subsequent to that event;* and to ascertain when those portions of the structure not yet noticed, were erected, I must again refer to the church itself as the only sure guide in our inquiries.

30. On comparing the roof of the transepts with that of the chancel, we shall find much in common both in design and enrichments; which leads to the inference that the latter was constructed very soon after the former, and from a plan furnished by the same architect. The period of the erection of this part of the superstructure I should place not later than 1410; and my reason for doing so is, that the arch dividing the chancel from the transepts, and which continues to be used throughout the entire nave, for the sake of uniformity in this particular, as it would seem, so far declines from the perfection of that architectural member, as to leave no doubt that it was erected soon after the Perpendicular style had obtained permanence as a national mode of building—that is, at the commencement of the fifteenth century. By dividing the horizontal line at the base into eight parts, the centre of this arch will be found at the *seventh*.

31. We have no means of knowing by whom the superstructure of the chancel and transepts were designed, but I think there is sufficient evidence in the vaulting to show that they were the work of one presiding genius, and that he was employed to superintend the erection of the entire of these parts of the building above the first stage—from about the death of the first William Canynges, until at least the close of the first ten years of the following century. From that time I con-

ceive another architect was employed, and that to him is to be ascribed the design of the elaborate vaulting which so enriches the nave of this beautiful church; but the name of this architect, like that of his predecessors, is entirely unknown to us.

32. The completion of so elaborate a superstructure as that of the nave, must have occupied a longer period than the erection of any other part of the interior. It is by far the most costly portion of the entire fabric, and displays an example of decorative excellence scarcely to be parallelled. The space between the arches (which spring from the Decorated English capitals, terminating the first stage of the church from the foundation) and the clerestory windows, is filled with elegantly designed Perpendicular English panelling, as also is the same space in the north transept and chancel, the panelling in the south transept *only* being designed in the Decorated style. The clerestory windows which rise above are uniform in structure throughout the entire nave, chancel, and north transept, all being in the Perpendicular fashion; but those in the south transept are constructed in the style which preceded it. The screens also at the end of the east chancel and its aisles, may be classed with the Perpendicular portions of the fabric; as may also several subordinate erections in that part of the structure. (Appendix T.)

33. It can scarcely be doubted from what has

been submitted to the reader in the foregoing remarks, that the whole of the superstructure of the church was raised upon the work of the first William Canynges, excepting the Decorated English portions, as in the south transept, &c., Its progress must have been slow from want of sufficient funds and competent workmen to proceed with the undertaking. As in those days of patents, licences, monopolies, and charters, the wealth of provincial towns was confined chiefly to the mercantile few, to the comparative exclusion of the trading many, contributions could be obtained for the most part from those only who were so favoured; and of course the work was more or less retarded in consequence. The church was doubtless far from completed, when, as we find it recorded in a manuscript cited both by Barrett and Britton, with a difference of one year only, "anno 1442," (I quote Barrett, whose date agrees with the Mayor's Calendar,) "William Canynges *wyth the helpe of others* of the worshipfulle towne of Bristol kepte masons and workmenne to *edifie, repayre, cover and glaze* the church of Redcliffe, which his grandfather had founded in the days of Edward the 3d." If any reliance can be placed upon this manuscript as a genuine document, it is evident that the second William Canynges was, like his grandfather and Simon de Burton, merely a contributor towards completing the church; and is an

additional proof that no part of the structure whatever was raised at the sole expence of any one individual; but that with the Harringtons, Hungerfords, Cradocks, Medes, Sturtons, Dyricks, Says, Graunts, Cheyneys, Fulks, Fitzwarrens, Inyns, Rivers, and others among commoners, whose arms were formerly blazoned in the windows of the church as benefactors to the edifice; together with the Straffords, Berkeleys, Beauchamps and Montacutes, among those of noble blood, whose armorial bearings are sculptured on the roof of the north aisle of the nave—William Canynges, Junr., "*wyth the helpe*" of the above named donors and "*others* of the worshipfulle towne of Bristol kepte masons and workmenne to *edifie*" or complete all imperfect detail and embellishment,—"*repayre*" the unfinished building of his predecessors, wherever injured through the length of time occupied in its erection,—"*cover and glaze*," that is, finish the vaulting already in progress, roof in the church, erect the parapet, and glaze the windows. These, the only incomplete parts of the work in connection with the building of the church, to the date last mentioned, is all that can with certainty be ascribed to the time of the second William Canynges, previous to the falling of the spire in 1445. If he had been more than a contributor with others to the work, surely some mention of such a circumstance would

be recorded, either on the monuments erected to his memory, and still standing in the church; or that he would in his will have named a fact so remarkable,—yet nothing of the kind it would seem, was ever placed upon record. What is still more singular is, that whilst by his last testament he particularly specifies a gift of "twenty pence to the mother church of Wells,"—directs that the "lights and torches" used at his funeral should "be given and distributed" by his executors "to twenty-four of the neighbouring parish churches without Bristol"—gives "to the fabric of the church of Westbury, forty shillings;" and a like sum to the church and tower of Compton Braynesold,—no mention whatever is made of any bequest in money to the church of St. Mary Redcliffe! neither do we meet with the slightest notice of any gift or donation being made by this second William Canynges towards the erection, in any memorial to which the slightest importance can be attached.—"All who entertain a genuine love of investigation," says Mr. Dallaway, "will regret that any sufficient evidence of the expense incurred in this building, or to whom the architecture of so remarkable a church is decidedly due, has eluded no careless research. The restorer himself, in the time spent of pious humility, never alludes to this sumptuous work in his will, or in any document that I have seen, that

only excepted respecting the monument which he erected for himself and wife, soon after her death, 'in loco quam construi et feci in parte australi ejusdem ecclesiæ.' "

34. The part assigned to William Canynges Junr. in the completion of the church was evidently to superintend the application of the funds raised for that purpose; and the person employed by him to carry on the work was surnamed Norton, but whose first name is not mentioned. He is denominated the "master mason," probably synonymous with that of architect. To his oversight may be ascribed the finishing of the church at the west end, and also the portion of the spire as it now appears. From him William of Wyrcestre obtained the information he has recorded respecting the subordinate parts of the church. "Norton's description of every particle which composes it (the exterior north porch) is then minutely given, in terms of masonry, then in common usage, and still to be explained. A more scientific detail of any other church is not to be found." (Dallaway.)

35. I have no doubt whatever that the church was finished entirely before the falling of the spire in 1445. Regarding this unfortunate event, Mr. Barrett quotes, as he tells us, (p. 570.) two "very ancient" manuscripts which relate the fact in the following manner. The first says that in "1445, at St. Paul's tide was very tempestuous weather,

by which Redcliffe steeple was overthrown in a thunderclap, doing great harme to the churche by the fall thereof, but by the good devotion of Mr. William Canynges it was re-edified to his everlasting prayse." The second document speaks thus ;—"William Canynges re-edified and enlarged the church of Redcliffe almost destroyed by lightning in 1445, in so exquisite a manner, that he has ever since passed for the founder thereof, and he afterwards gave 500£ to keep it in repair." Mr. Britton also cites a manuscript (page 8) preserved in the Bodleian Library, by which we are informed that "the said church, having suffered much in a tempest the above mentioned William Canynges, a celebrated merchant and public benefactor, in the year 1474, gave five hundred pounds to the parishoners of Redcliffe towards repairing the church, and for the maintenance of two chaplains and two clerks in St. Mary's Chapel there, and of two chantry priests." Of the genuine character of these manuscripts I must confess myself exceedingly sceptical, and for reasons already assigned, when speaking of all such documents relating to old Bristol. It will be observed that the second manuscript quoted above records, in other language, the particulars contained in the first, with the addition of a gift of £500, "*afterwards*" bestowed by William Canynges towards keeping the church in repair; and the

third or Bodleian writing, in addition to reciting the contents of the two preceding papers, announces that besides repairing the church, the £500 was given also for the maintenance of two chaplains and two clerks, and it furnishes the date of the execution of this deed so late as the year 1474. This date evidently refers to the *will* of William Canynges, which was executed Nov. 12th in that year; but in this document not one word is mentioned of any such donation to the *repair of the church*, as that above quoted, nor indeed of any other sum being left for that purpose. But admitting it to be correct, we are to believe that no measures for restoring the church were adopted between the falling of the spire in 1445, and the gift of this money in 1474—a period of nearly thirty years—the thing is incredible! This manuscript is in fact nothing else than a transcript, in brief, of the parish register (with another date) hereafter quoted.

36. In speaking of the restoration of the edifice after the falling of the spire, Mr. Barrett says,(p. 570) "the same plan was observed by him (William Canynges, junr.) in rebuilding and restoring it to its original beauty after being thrown down by the lightning; the south aisle, where the mischief fell heaviest, seems to have been rebuilt with a somewhat more elevated arch and in a lighter style than the north; a difference also is

between the windows of the north and south aisle. The falling of such a large and very high steeple upon the church must have done great injury, and destroyed everything wherever it fell." In another place the same writer says in substance that by this accident the *body of the church* was so much injured that it was almost ruinous. Now both these statements cannot be correct; for in the first, mention is distinctly made of the damage having been sustained by the south aisle; and in the second, by the body of the church, that is, the nave. The former statement is doubtless the true one, and to the south aisle it may be confidently said the mischief was confined; for had the spire fallen on the body of the edifice, some indications of repair or restoration would appear in that part of the building, as well as in the south aisle;—but as nothing of the kind is observable, we may reasonably infer that it wholly escaped the effects of the accident. (Appendix U.)

37. In discussing the contents of the manuscripts recently noticed, it will be observed that the third refers to a gift by William Canynges, junr. of £500. "towards repairing the church, and for the maintenance of two chaplains and two clerks in St. Mary's chapel there, and of two chantry priests." In Mr. Barrett's first manuscript no mention whatever is made of this gift, but in the second I have quoted, his remarks lead to the inference that

William Canynges, junr. having himself restored those parts of the church injured by the falling of the spire, "*afterwards* gave 500£ *to keep it in repair;*" the introduction of the adverb "afterwards" seems to imply that the donation was not made *then*, but at a subsequent period; and it is, I have no doubt, the same sum of 500£ as that mentioned by the same writer at page 612 of his work, where he records under date of

"1466, William Canynges gave by deed for divine offices in Redcliffe church	340	0	0
And in plate to the said church	160	0	0
Vested in the vicar and proctors of Redcliffe	£500	0	0"

According to this latter document £340 of the total sum was given "for divine offices in Redcliffe church;"—the meaning of which is explained by an extract from a volume of the parish register for the years between 1678 and 1694 inclusive, and to which I have had access. This document expresses that William Canynges, by deed dated October 20th 1467, one year later than that stated by Mr. Barrett, "gave unto the vicar and wardens, and also to the senior and major part of all the parishioners of the church of the blessed Mary of Redcliff, in Bristol, the sum of £340 of current money, upon condition that the said vicar and church-wardens and their successors for ever should for that gift and with the said money sufficiently

repair, or cause to be repaired and re-edified, the *ruinous buildings, tenements, and houses* whatsoever of the said church, and with the rents and issues of the land and tenements of the same church, should provide, find, and give unto two chaplains, called St. Mary's Priests, nine marks apiece per ann. To two clerks, sufficiently instructed in reading and singing, at 2£ 13s. 4d. apiece, and for executing the sexton's office 1£ 6s. 8d. with divers other gifts, as per the record of the same deed in the great red book, fol. 291, it may appear."

38. It will not fail to strike the reader as somewhat remarkable, that in the above quotation, while the repair and re-edification of "ruinous buildings, tenements, and houses," belonging to the church is especially cared for by the donor,—not one word is said about any repairs to, or rebuilding of, any part of the sacred edifice itself; nor is the slightest intimation given of there being any works whatever, exterior or interior, in progress. The sum of £340 was, therefore, bestowed "to provide, find" and pay "two chaplains" and "two clerks" and a "sexton," who should properly discharge the various duties appertaining to their respective situations in the church, in a becoming manner, and it evidently had no connection whatever with repairing the fabric in which these different parties officiated. Of the total sum of £500, there still remains £160 unappropriated;

and as no mention is made in any document as to the way in which this balance was disposed of, we are left to conjecture that this amount *only*, was in reality all that the second William Canynges gave as his own personal donation towards the re-edification of the church—I use the word *conjecture* because of the silence observed with regard to this appropriation. How £340 came to be the particular sum left "for divine offices" in the church, is accounted for by the fact that William Canynges (says the deed recorded in the parish register before quoted) had advanced £160 to Sir Theobald Gorges, Knight, upon some jewels, (Barrett says plate, but this is an error) which the latter had placed in his hands as security for the loan of that amount, but which it would seem had never been redeemed. These valuables, therefore, with £340 were presumed to make together £500—the total sum given by William Canynges in relation to the matter before us. It is worthy of remark here, that in a deed dated 1467, quoted by Dallaway, and formerly possessed by the late Mr. Cumberland of this city, the sum of £340 *only* is mentioned; and this was given to repair the dilapidated tenements belonging to two chantries in Redcliffe church, founded by Everard le Franceys; and to found another to be called "W. Canynges priest." If this deed could be depended on as the most truth-telling of the whole of the documents

brought before the reader in these remarks, it clearly shuts out William Canynges Junr., from all participation in the re-edification of the church, and leaves us to the alternative that he did not even contribute at all towards the undertaking! This, however, we cannot believe, for that he gave liberally of his substance to the work there can be no doubt, although no positive record of the fact upon which we can rely, is known to exist. Appendix V.) The manuscripts I have noticed are of so contradictory a character as to be unworthy our credence; and they bear so strong a general resemblance to each other, and yet admit of such varied interpretations, as to have the appearance, at least, of having been concocted for purposes of fraud and deception.

39. Although William Canynges makes no mention in his will of any sum given to the *church* of Redcliffe, he does not forget those who officiated at its altars. He leaves "to Master Nicholas Pittes, Vicar of Redcliffe, (appointed in 1466) five pounds, upon this condition, that the lights on the day of his sepulture, and on that of his Month's Mind, should be freely prepared, dispensed, and lighted, without any payment to him, in the aforesaid church of Redcliffe, and the boundaries of the same." He bequeathes "to each of the chaplains of Redcliffe, six shillings and eightpence, upon this condition, that they be

present at the day of his burial, and for the whole month immediately following his death, and say daily in the choir, by note, the exequies of the dead, and mass of requiem. To each of the three clerks serving in the church of Redcliffe, three shillings and fourpence upon the same condition; and to each of the three procurators of the said church of Redcliffe for the time being, six shillings and eightpence; (and) to the keeper of the oblation boxes in the north porch twenty pence." (Appendix W.)

40. Besides the above gifts to the servitors of the church, the only way in which the structure itself is mentioned in the will of William Canynges, is in the following quotations from it. (Appendix X.) He first "leaves his soul to the Omnipotent God, the blessed Virgin Mary, and all the Saints; his body to be buried in the church of the blessed Mary of Redcliffe, in Bristol, in the place constructed and made in the southern part of the same church, near the altar of St. Katherine, where the body of Joanna, his late wife, was interred." He then ordains, that "his executors, on the day of his burial, should dispense twenty-four torches, newly bought, each of the weight of twenty-one pounds of wax, with other wax according to their discretion." Passing over several items already quoted, and which refer more particularly to Westbury and its college, (see

page 156) and to the various religious fraternities in Bristol, he bequeaths "to the same church (Redcliffe) his two books called Liggers, (evidently service books for the use of his chaplains) with the entire legend, upon condition that one of the said books called Lyggers shall be in the choir of the church before one of his chaplains, placed there by him in perpetuity, in one part of the choir, and another of the said books shall be in another part of the choir, before another of his chaplains, existing at the time when the work is deposited." He further leaves "his best pair of vestments of velvet to Peter Lawless, his chaplain, and his succeeding chaplains, to serve and minister at the altar of St. Katherine of Redcliffe. Another pair of vestments of damask, blood colour, to Thomas Hawkesok, his chaplain, and his successors' chaplains, to minister at the altar of St. George, in the same church;" and a third "pair of his vestments of damask, ruby colour, for the use of the Hospital of St. John the Baptist, in Redcliffe-street, to serve in the same for ever. To Richard Hickes he bequeathed twenty pounds, (equal to about £300 present money;) to Thomas Warley and William Cooke, two other domestics, five pounds each; to his other servants, John Wadnynge, forty shillings, to William Trowell and Gregory Breemer, twenty shillings each; and to Janeno Cooke and John Benet, servants of the

College of Westbury, six shillings and eightpence each." He also devises certain lands and tenements to his nephew William Canynges, and in default of issue to Isabella Canynges, his neice; and in case of her decease without issue, the whole was to be sold by the Mayor and Corporation of Bristol, and by the procurators of the church of the blessed Mary of Redcliffe, one half of the money raised thereby was to be devoted to the support of the two chantries in Redcliffe Church; the other half to be delivered to the Chamberlain for the use of the town of Bristol. The residue of his goods, chattels, plate, and debts in his present testament not bequeathed—his debts and funeral expences being first paid—he wholly gave and bequeathed to William Spenser, merchant, and to Richard Hickes, his servant, whom he ordained his executors, to distribute the proceeds, as it may seem better to them for the deliverance of his soul." These latter bequests are set forth in the Will as it appears in the Will Book preserved by the civic authorities, verbatim, as follows:—

"Wilielmo Canynges nepoti meo tenementum meum cum solario cælario et pertinentiis situatum in cornerio stratæ vocatæ Brad Strete in Bristol juxta portum vocatum Johannes Gate in quo Ricardus Derick nunc inhabitat in quo Elizabetha Sharpe vidua habet mendictatem jure hereditario

Eidem Wilelmo Canynges unum tenementum meum annexatum tenemento prædicto situatum in venella dicta S^cti. Laurence lane qua itur a dicto vico Bradstrete versus vicum dictum Small strete ex opposito ecclesiæ S^cti. Laurencii in quo Johannes Robyns Hoper nunc habitat Item eidem Wilielmo Canynges totum statum quem habeo in tenemento situato in Brad strete in quo Willielmus Wykeham Dier nunc habitat inter tenementum Philippi Mede ex parte una et tenementum abb: et Conventus S^cti. Augustini Bristol ex parte altera.

Item lego dicto Willielmo Canynges unum clausum meum adjacentem inter pratum vocatum Redclives mede in parte una et quoddam gardinum meum alterum ex opposito cimiterii de B. M. V. Redcliff ex parte altera Eidem Willielmo Canynges pomarium meum situatum in Pyle strete quod Johannes Tyler mercator modo de me tenet inter regium viam ibidem ex parte una et unum pecium ortorum eidem pomario annexatum ex parte altera Item lego eidem Willielmo Canynges peciam ortorum meorum prædictorum in Rode lane quod Willielmus Tyler modo de me tenet Item lego dicto Willielmo Canynges redecesia (redescizin) ortorum tenementorum meorum messuageorum terrarum subscriptorum cum omnibus et singulis pertinentiis infra Bristol et suburbiis ejusdem nunc in manu Isabellæ Powlett nuper uxoris Willielmi filii mei defuncti ex dono

et concessione mea ad Wilelmo Canynges testatoris usus ad terminum vitæ dictæ Isabellæ tantum et post decessum dictæ Isabellæ cum acciderit, volo quod tenementa terra et messuagia subscripta cum omnibus et singulis pertinentiis integre remaneant Wilelmo Canynges nepoti meo et heredibus suis legitime procreatis de corpore suo vizt duo tenementa dictis tenementis conjuncta situata in suburbiis villæ Bristol in vico vocato West Touker strete in parochiâ Sancti Thomæ Martyris inter tenementa Prioris domus Carthusianæ de Witham ex utraq parte et duo messuagia cum suis pertinentiis partim situata super pontem Abonæ villæ Bristol inter messuagia Isabellæ nuper uxoris Johannis Simons Militis in parte boriali et quandam venellum qua itur ad quandam latrinam vocatam Abones prevy in parte australi et se extendit a via regia ibidem anterius usque ad quandam vacuam placeam terræ Majoris et Communitatis Bristol ibidem posterius Et unum messuagium vocatum 'Evermeny' cum omnibus suis pertinentiis situatum super frontem Abonæ Bristol in quo Ricardus Griffith wax maker nunc habitat inter tenementa Thomæ Yonge et Isabellæ viduæ ejus ex parte australi et tenementum Johannis Gardiner ex parte boriali et unum magnum tenementum cum quatuordecim shopis cum suis pertinentiis situatum in Villæ Bristol ex opposito crucis Sancti Petri ejusdem villæ inter

'shops' dictam Reginæ quas Simon Olyver nuper de novo edificavit et fecit cum earum pertinentiis ex parte una et venellam vocatam 'Strete of defense' ex parte alterna et duo messuagia cum eorum pertinentiis prout situantur in suburbiis dictæ villæ Bristol super 'Le Weir,' inter terras domus et conventus Carthusiani de Witham ex parte una et tenementa Hugonis Mulle Gentilman ex parte altera habenda et tenenda omnia prædicta tenementa mea gardina pomaria clausus solaria celaria cum omnibus pertinentiis suis cum post mortem dictæ Isabellæ acciderit predicto Wilelmo Canynges nepoto meo et heredibus de suo corpore legitime procreatis et si contingat dicto Wilelmo Canynges obire sine heredibus &c. volo quod omnia tenementa mea &c. remaneant Isabellæ Canynges nepotis mei sorori similiter heredibus suis et si contingat dictum Isabellam obire sine heredibus &c. tunc volo quod omnia mea tenementa &c. supradicta integre vendantur per Majorem et Communi Concilium ejusdem villæ Bristol ac per procuratores ecclesiæ B. M. V. Redcliff pro tempore existentis et ut medietas pecuniarum inde levatarum deliberenter procuratoribus dictæ ecclesiæ B. M. V. Redcliffe ad usum et sustentationem duarum cantariarum mearum perpetuo per me in ecclesia sæpedicta fundatarum Et alia mediebus pecuniarum dictarum deliberetur Camerario Bristol pro tempore existenti ad usum

ejusdem villæ Bristol Item lego Elizabethæ Canynges nuper uxori Johannes filii mei totum itrud messuagium cum pertinentiis situatum in vico S^cti^ Nicholas simul cum uno magno 'vaute' eidem pertinente quod Johannes Pinke mercator modo tenet necnon aliud messuagium cum pertinentiis suis anexatis situatum in eadem vico quod predictus Johannes Pinke modo tenet ac etiam aliud messuagium cum pertinentiis situatum in 'Le Thoroughous' inter prædictum vicum S^cti^ Nicholas et Baldwyne strete in occidententali parti dicti 'Thoroughous' simul cum uno magno cellario annexato juxta dictum messuagium prædicti Edwardi quod Johannis Janyns nunc tenet necnon aliud messuagium in eodem vico simul cum duobus cellariis situatis in 'le Thoroughous' supradicta quod Robertus Megges modo tenet Do etiam unum magnum celarium situatum in prædicto 'Thoroughous' in orientali parte ejusdem habendum et tenendum cum suis pertinentiis profatæ Elizabethæ nuper uxori Johannis Canynges filii mei profati Wilelmi Canynges ad terminum vitæ suæ tenend' de capitalibus Dominii feodi et aliis proficius et dubitis consuetudinibus Etsi contingat dictæ Elizabethæ obire tunc volo quod omnia prædicta messuagia et celaria cum pertinentiis integris remancant Isabellæ Canynges nepoto meæ sorori Wilelmi Canynges nepotis mei et heredibus &c. suis etsi conjungat dictum Isabellam

obire sine heredibus &c. tunc volo quod omnia prædicta messuagia &c. vendantur per Majorem et Commune Concilium ejusdem villæ Bristol ac per procuratores ecclesiæ B. M. V. Redcliff ad usum et sustentationem duarum cantariarum perpetuo per me fundaturum et alia medictas pecuniarum prædicturum deliberetur Camerio Bristol pro tempore existenti ad usum dictæ villæ Bristol.

Residuum vero omnium bonorum cattalorum jocalium et debitorum meorum in presenti testamento meo non legatorum debitis meis ac funeralibus expensis primitus solutis. Do et lego Magistro Willelmo Spenser mercatori de Bristol et Ricardo Hickes servienti meo quos facio ordino et constituo meas executores testamenti mei ad distribuendum inde pro anima mea prout eis videbitur expedire In cujus rei testimonium huic presenti testamento sigillum meum apposui His testibus Magistro Phillippo Hiette Subdecano Ecclesiæ Collegiato de Westbury Thoma Hexton mercatore Bristol Johanne Grene Chirurgico ejusdem villæ et aliis Datum die et anno superscriptis (videlicet die Novembris duodecimo 1474 anno regni Regis Edwardi 4th 14no)

Probatum die 26 Septembris 1475, 15 Edw. 4 per Gulielmum Spenser executoris."

41, After he became an inmate of Westbury College William Canynges presented the authorities of the Church of St. Mary Redcliffe with new

furniture for the "Easter Sepulchre," of which the following inventory is preserved among the documents in the custody of their successors, and which, although often printed, should not be here omitted :—

"Me^d That Mayster Canynges delyrded the iiij day of Jule, in the yere of our Lorde 1470, to Maist^r Nicholas Pyttes, Vicar of Redclif, Moyses Conteryn, Phelip Berthemew, and John Browne, procurators of St. Mary Redclif byforesaid, a new sepulchre well gilte with fyne golde and cever thereto.

"Item, an ymage of God Almyghty risyng oute of the same sepulchre, with all the ordynance that 'longeth thereto, that is to say, a lath made of tymb^r and the yron worke thereto, &c.

"Item, thereto 'longeth Hevyn, made of tymb^r and steyned clothes.

"Item, Hell made of tymb^r and yron worke, with devells the number of xiij.

"Item, iiij knyghtes armed kepynge the sepulchre with their wepyns in their honds, that is to sey, ij speres with ij pavyes. (shields)

"Item, iiij peyr of angels' whynges for iiij angels made of tymb^r and well peynted.

"Item, the ffader the crowne and visage the ball with a cross upon, well gilte with fyne golde.

"Item, the Holy Goste comyng out of Hevyn into the sepulchre.

"Item, 'longing to iiij angells iiij chevelers. (perukes)"

42. The contents of the above memorandum has reference to the exhibitions which entertained our Catholic forefathers in the Middle Ages, and which were denominated "Mysteries,"—this being evidently designed to set forth the Resurrection of Christ. Their introduction into the church was owing to the rude and often obscene representations of a similar kind which obtained among the people in their pastimes. To supersede these the clergy substituted religious plays, based upon scriptural or ecclesiastical incidents, which being performed by the scholars of the church, originated the Miracles and Mysteries which made up the sum of theatrical entertainments in the time of William Canynges. Before him, we are told, was "plaied (the Tragedy of Ella, one of the Rowley poems,) atte hys howse nempe the Rodde Lodge;" as also was "The Parlyamete of Sprytes, a most merrie entyrlude, plaied by the Carmelyte Freeres, at Mastre Canynges hys greete howse." From the gift made to Redcliffe Church by Canynges, we perceive the amount of profanity which the Church Mysteries had attained in the reign of Edward IV. for they were then of the grossest character. In time, however, these bold representations of God and Satan, heaven and hell, gave place to dryer

and more decent Moralities and the modern Drama.

43. In offering the preceeding remarks upon the beautiful church of St. Mary Redcliffe to the candid consideration of the reader, my object is, as I trust it ever will be, in all matters relating to antiquarian research, to elicit *truth;* and in coming a second time to an investigation of the history of this noble structure, it has not been done with a view to bolster up any preconceived notions which either my reading or experience may have cherished. As a reviewer of my "Notes" has remarked, "I have thought for myself," and the result, whether correct or not, is again submitted to the public in a more elaborate and extended form. My opinions, it will be seen, differ widely from all previous writers upon the subject; and although they should affect the long established fame of those to whom, as by common consent, the erection of the matchless church of St. Mary has been ascribed; it were better—far better—to endeavour to divest the subject of a mysticism, in the dark folds of which it has for so great a length of time been enwrapped; than to retail, as most writers have done, an undisturbed tradition, which has no more foundation in fact than to assert that the mist upon the mountain's top is as permanent in its duration as the "everlasting hills,"—"If," says Mr. Dallaway, "to investigate truth be, in

some instances to lessen traditional fame which has descended to our times *without examination*, the present age is become more interested in discovering realities; and in detaching such errors from seeming authorities, which have never been submitted to the test of historic proof."

44. The sum of the preceding argument is, as I think, clearly to establish three important facts:

First. That tradition alone, unsupported by any documentary evidence of undoubted authority, has ascribed the founding of the church of St. Mary Redcliffe to Simon de Burton; and that the oldest parts of the structure were erected at least forty years before that event is said to have taken place, —another style of architecture being at the time in practice.

Second. That in constructing those parts of the building usually assigned, through the same suspicious and unconfirmed medium only, to the first William Canynges—he was aided by the contributions of other wealthy individuals—and as a contributor alone he stands connected with the erection of any part of the structure.

Third. That in the examination of such documents as refer to William Canynges, Junr., nothing has been discovered to justify the long received opinion that he executed the work of re-edification at his own sole cost—all the evidence adduced tending to prove that, like his great predecessors

Simon de Burton, and William Canynges, Senr., he was but a contributor; and as such only "wyth the helpe of others of the worshipfulle towne of Bristowe," he finished the labours ascribed to those worthy men by employing "masons and workmenne to edifie, repayre, cover and glaze, the church of Redcliff," which had been commenced upwards of a century before the time of his grandfather.

45. In thus endeavouring to "unravel the entangled thread spun by other authors," and bring to light, if possible, the secret, hidden history of a church about which so much has been written to little purpose, I have had no desire to disparage the labours of others, or to speak of what they have recorded in any way than every other lover of truth would feel himself at liberty to do. Much less would I detract from the fair fame of those to whom it has long been usual to award the praise of the erection of so noble a structure as the church of St. Mary, but that a desire to ascertain truth for myself and then to inform others, prompts me to give expression to opinions which, however adverse to popular notions, are, nevertheless, those of sincere conviction, resulting from a long and deep seated persuasion, that the building of this magnificent church has hitherto been ascribed to parties who were mere helpers in the work, like many others contemporary with them. (App. Y.)

"I do not believe that there ever existed so masterly a genius, except that of Psalmanazar, who before twenty-two could create a language, that all the learned of Europe, though they suspected, could not detect."

HORACE WALPOLE.

"The prodigious precocity of his genius will not cease to excite surprise and admiration, from the extreme rarity of the occurrence—'ostendunt tantum fata'— whilst the sad event of his life will awaken a melancholy reflection of great talents, given indeed, but applied to no purposes of utility to mankind."

REV. JAMES DALLAWAY, M. A.

"He has descended to his grave with a dubious character; and the only praise which can be accorded him by the warmest of his admirers, is that of an elegant and ingenious impostor."

G. GREGORY, D.D. F.S.A.

CHAPTER VII.

CHAPTER VII.

1.—Thomas Chatterton, the great object of his ambition. 2.—Some account of his family. 3.—His extraordinary talents. 4.—Enters Pyle-street school, his dismissal and its cause. 5.—Instructed by his mother. 6.—Admitted into Colston's school. 7.—Obtains possession of the so-called Rowley MSS. 8.—Commences his forgeries. 9.—Deceives Mr. Barrett. 10.—Leaves Bristol for London. 11.—His disappointment and death. 12.—Inquest held on his body. 13.—The place of his interment. 14. 15.—His monument. 16.—MS. believed to contain evidence of his forgeries noticed. 17.—John Chatterton's petition. 18. 19.—The poet's will. 20. 21. 22. 23.—His character, religious and political. 24.—Dr. Knox's remarks. 25.—Mr. Warton and other writers quoted. 26.—Parallel between Milton and Chatterton. 27.—General summary. 28.—Instruction to be gathered from the life of Chatterton, &c.

1. The frequent mention of the name of Chatterton in the preceding pages—his connection with the manuscripts ascribed to Rowley—and their reference to William Canynges,—seem to require from the writer, something more than a mere passing observation. For their juvenile author they have earned a world-wide renown—an object he appears to have considered paramount to all others—and to obtain which, he regarded no sacrifice too costly. It was his wish to live in the future, though he immolated himself on the altar of the present—to be associated with the great in

an undying celebrity, though he lost himself in acquiring the object he sought—and to be remembered in after times as "the wondrous boy" by admiring posterity, though he found an early grave in achieving the object of his most ardent ambition.

2. The name of Chatterton has been for many generations connected with St. Mary Redcliffe. In the Parish Register under date of 1661, occurs the following entry:—

"Paid To Thomas Chatterton free (stone) mason for worke donn as Pr Note 04,,10,,07"

Again in

"1662 Paid To Chatterton the mason for worke donn by him as Pr Note 01,,13,,00"

Also in

"1666 Paid To Chatterton for a daies worke att Redcliff Stepps 00,,02,,06"

These entries are sufficient to show that the individual mentioned was the parish mason; and his name continues in connection with the same employment until the year 1672, when one Fleetewoode appears to have superseded him, probably owing to his death, as I find mention made in 1677 of "Chatterton's two sons" who are paid "for worke at the pipe-head and for Candles, 13s. 8d." In the following year a *second* Thomas Chatterton, probably one of the two sons just named, appears on the record. This person seems

to have continued in this employ until 1685, when the name of *William* Chatterton occurs, which continues until 1723, when he died, as may be inferred from the following entry in that year:—

"April 25th, Paid *Widow* Chatterton her salary from Lady Day to the Latter end of Easter Week „ 3„6"

What particular situation the good widow held we are not informed, but she was probably retained in some office by the authorities out of respect to her deceased husband. In 1724 is an entry "for Oyling & blacking ye Dyall" for doing which one of the family is paid 2s. 10d., but the first name of the party is not mentioned. In 1732, however, not only the name but the occupation is set forth as follows:—

"Paid *John* Chatterton the *Sexton's* Note 1„17„6"

Here, then, we have evidence of the family of Chatterton, and their connection with the parish of Redcliffe for nearly three quarters of a century before the uncle of the poet, the above named John Chatterton, was appointed to the duties of sexton, to which office he was elected in March, 1725. In this situation he continued until his death in 1748—four years after which, November 20th 1752, the subject of this brief memoir, Thomas Chatterton, the poet, first saw the light. He was the posthumous son of Thomas and Sarah Chatterton,—his father having been a sub-chanter at the cathedral, and at the same time master of

Pyle-street school, which offices he seems to have held till his decease, August 7th, 1752. (Appendix Z.) John Chatterton the sexton, appears to have been the last of the family who held any situation in connection with the parish of St. Mary Redcliffe; and the residence of himself, as well as of his predecessors, from the time when their name first occurs in the church books was on Redcliffe Hill; and the rent of the house occupied by them, which was situated at the back of that now occupied by Mr. Isaac Selfe, Chemist, is entered at 6s. 8d. per annum, the sum paid by them to the parish, which owned the property.

3. As the life of that literary phenomenon, Thomas Chatterton, has been repeatedly placed before the public, it is not my intention to give more than a brief outline of his career—referring chiefly to such points of interest in his short, but eventful course, as will enable the reader justly to appreciate the amazing capacity of his understanding, and the almost superhuman vigour of his intellect. "Of premature talents and attainments," says one of his Biographers, "of boundless invention and invincible industry, Chatterton has been considered a dazzling miracle in the history of literature—he was a magician—and the potency of his poetical spells has confounded the reasonings of veteran incredulity. With the wild wit of Shakspeare, the sublime conceptions of Milton,

and the long resounding march of Dryden, this boy-bard, rushed naked into the amphitheatre of life, and sustained a brilliant part, though his hearers were contemptuous and cold."

4. Although the father of the poet was of a churlish, and even of a brutish disposition, there can be no doubt that had he lived, the education of his son would have been very different from that which he received; for Chatterton's father with all his failings appears to have possessed abilities suited to the purposes of teaching. Unhappily for the child, as it would seem, his future course was to be superintended by a devotedly attached mother, of no pretensions to education herself, and therefore unable to direct that of her son. Her means too being slender, at five years of age, the future poet was sent to the school over which his father had presided, but which was now under the care of his successor, a Mr. Love. He was soon, however, returned to his mother by this gentleman as being so unusually dull, as not to be capable of comprehending the first rudiments of learning. By this act the poor, disconsolate, heart-broken widow, received additional distress to her already sufficiently unhappy condition, in being compelled to regard the child of her affections as nearly idiotic, and without a capacity for receiving instruction. A singular incident shortly afterwards occurred which relieved the anxious mother

of the child from all apprehensions regarding his want of natural ability to acquire the rudiments of learning; and which gave promise even then, that his future career was to be marked by no ordinary circumstances.

5. Watching with an intense though melancholy interest the movements of her son as he amused himself in her humble dwelling, the mother one day observed his attention directed intently towards an old French manuscript music book, the ornamented capital letters of which had so rivetted his attention, that the poor woman, conceiving it a favourable omen, seized the opportunity of trying to teach him the alphabet, in which to her great joy she succeeded. With the aid of her daughter, who was Chatterton's senior, the delighted mother, gradually led on her son step by step in the path to knowledge, and by means of an old black letter Bible, he soon acquired not only the first elements of learning, but also a love of antiquarian lore which rendered his after life so memorable.

6. Before Chatterton had attained his eighth year he was admitted, August 3rd, 1760, into Colston's school, on the recommendation of the Rev. John Gardiner, Vicar of Henbury, and during the seven years he spent in that establishment there seems to be no doubt that he meditated the production of the Rowleian manuscripts, for on every occasion when a holiday presented itself,

he was at home with his mother, in whose house he had a room to himself where, solitary and alone, with charcoal, ochre, and blacklead, letters, papers, and parchments, he commenced the manufacture of the manuscripts he afterwards said were discovered in the muniment room of Redcliffe church. He seems at this time to have regarded his mother and sister with feelings of lively gratitude for the instruction which they had at so much pains bestowed on him, and he was lavish in his promises of recompense whenever it should lay in his power to requite them—a promise, be it said, which he in no case afterwards forgot. His affection for his mother knew no bounds; his love for his sister bordered on enthusiasm; he was possessed of the warmest feelings of gratitude, and was ever susceptible of the loftiest and most tender sentiments of friendship.

7. On the 1st of July, 1767, Chatterton quitted Colston's School to be apprenticed to Mr. John Lambert, an attorney, whose offices were on St. John's Steps, Bristol. During the early part of his residence with this gentleman, it was his custom to visit his mother for an hour or two almost every evening; on one of these occasions his eye happened to rest on part of an ancient manuscript, which his mother was employing as a thread case; and on his eagerly inquiring whence she had procured it, she informed him that during the time

his uncle was sexton of Redcliffe church, a search had been instituted for some records, the production of which had become necessary; they were at length found, together with a great quantity of old manuscripts in a large chest, in what had formerly been the muniment room. The lid, originally secured by six locks, then grown rusty, had been forced open, and the requisite records having been abstracted, the other parchments were carelessly returned into the chest; and were from time to time most unscrupulously purloined, especially by his father, the sexton's brother, who frequently used them for the humble purpose of book covers. The apartment here spoken of is situated over the north porch of the church, (see illustration at the commencement of this chapter,) where several large mutilated chests still remain, one of them being specially designated *Mr. Canynges' cofre:* this chest was, according to Chatterton's story, the repository of the far-famed manuscripts ascribed to Thomas Rowley, a priest of Bristol, who enjoyed Canynges' patronage in the reigns of Henry VI. and Edward IV.

8. Chatterton professed to become enamoured of these old writings, informing his mother that he regarded them as a great treasure; and having possessed himself of all he could lay hands on, at once commenced studying the ancient Anglo-Saxon language with unremitted perseverance, in

order to understand their contents. The appearance shortly afterwards in the columns of Felix Farley's Bristol Journal of a paper entituled "The Fryars passing over the Old Bridge," produced an extraordinary sensation among the antiquaries and literati of the old city, who were at once set in motion, and inquiries were immediately instituted with a view to ascertain from whence it had been procured. Numerous were the applications to the printer for this purpose, who, at first, could recollect nothing about the matter, the copy having been left by a stranger. It was ultimately ascertained, however, that the person referred to was Chatterton who, after much delay, and the adoption of a courteous bearing towards him, acknowledged that the manuscript of "The Fryars," &c. was found among many others which had been extracted by his father from the chests already named as being in the muniment room of the church of St. Mary Redcliffe. The success of this first essay of the young poet, encouraged him to proceed with his forgeries, which ended in the production of a voluminous supply of transcripts in his own hand writing, accompanied by glossarial indexes and notes, which he said he had compiled from ancient authorities. So cleverly, however, were these manuscripts executed, and so transcendently beautiful were the poems thus put forth by him under

the name of Rowley, that the literary world was long divided in opinion, as to their genuineness. A sharp and lengthened controversy arose, into the merits of which I shall not enter, since the general assent of the well-informed, has long ago awarded the authorship of these masterly productions to the pen of the boy-bard. A perusal of Chatterton's avowed compositions will go very far to shew, that he had the capacity, and was gifted with the intellect, presuming he had the inclination, to produce the beautiful inspirations of Rowley.

9. Perhaps of all the dupes to the fictions of Chatterton, the greatest was the Historian of Bristol. With Barrett, the poet became early acquainted, and as the former was then preparing his work for the press he was captivated with his young friend, and greedily devoured whatever of apparently old unpublished manuscripts he could procure from him, without seeming to have exercised sufficient judgment in ascertaining whether genuine or not. To him Chatterton presented, among a host of other papers, "the real and genuine account," as Barrett terms it, "Of the auntiaunte forme of Monies carefullie gotten for Mayster William Canynges by mee Thomas Rowleie;" also an account, "copied from an old manuscript, of those scarce coins, monuments, and other valuable pieces of antiquity, said once to have adorned the cabinet of a very wealthy and

ingenious merchant of Bristol, the worthy Mr. Canynges; and to have been chiefly collected by Thomas Rowley, priest, of the fifteenth century, which he calls his *Yellow Roll*, and entitules it, 'England's Glorye revyved in Maystre Canynges, beynge some Accounte of hys Cabynet of Aunty-aunte Monuments" Nothing has tended more than the publication of these and other similar papers, by Barrett, to overshadow with doubt many parts of the history of Bristol; and one scarcely knows which to blame most—the fraud practised by the deceiver, or the criminal gullibility of the deceived. For Barrett, Chatterton himself appears to have entertained the veriest modicum of esteem as an antiquary, and he is well known to have ridiculed him for his superstition. The enthusiasm of the former when speaking of the church of St. Mary Redcliffe, was great, yet his knowledge of the beautiful details of the building did not even amount to the merest rudiments; and if at any time, a sight of the noble edifice kindled within him emotions of delight—and the massy character of the structure awakened feelings of awe—he was as utterly ignorant of the cause of the one, as he was unable to assign a reason for the other. With an amount of information upon this subject, just sufficient to make him appear ridiculous in the estimation of succeeding authors —he wrote a book; and with enough of infantine

simplicity to render him in all future time a subject of ludicrous comment, he gave publicity through his pages to the forgeries of a boy, who himself laughed at the trick played off upon the credulous historian, as one who could be so easily deceived by documents palmed upon him as veritable records of the past. In this way has the history of almost every church and other public building in old Bristol been trifled with—mainly through Barrett's antiquarian ignorance,—the real events of which can now only be gathered from other sources. Chatterton did much to mystify all the original records relating to them, and Barrett has ignorantly done his part to render nugatory what his more youthful colleague left untouched. Chatterton's accounts "unsupported by either document or tradition, were published in Barrett's History of Bristol, (a work otherwise valuable,) as from the pen of 'Thomas Rowley, the gode priscte,' from behind whose cowl the pretended young transcriber smiled at the dupe of his ingenuity." (Appendix A A.)

10. For the particulars of Chatterton's acquaintance with Horace Walpole, during his stay with Mr. Lambert, and for its effect on the future destiny of the unfortunate youth, the reader is referred to Dix's interesting Life of the poet, in which the whole will be found narrated with considerable ability, and a truthfulness worthy commendation.

Let it suffice to observe here, that the disgust he had conceived for the profession to which he had been articled, increasing with his taste for literary composition—the indignity with which he conceived he had been treated in the place of his nativity, added to the want of success in the application he made to Mr. Walpole for assistance to extricate him from the monotonous routine of a scrivener's office, and place him in a sphere of action more in accordance with his tastes and predilections,—induced him to abandon the home of his youth,—his mother, his sister, and his friends—and repair to the great metropolis, in search of an independence which appeared to be beyond attainment in his native Bristol. He had for some time written for the periodical press, and he flattered himself that he should, by his removal to London, soon obtain sufficient employment to make his position at least an easy one. "My first attempt," said he, "shall be in the literary way. The promises I have received are sufficient to dispel doubt; but should I, contrary to my expectations, find myself deceived, I will, in that case, turn methodist preacher. Credulity is as potent a deity as ever, and a new sect may easily be devised." And then, as if to show how readily he could adopt another and more fearful alternative, he adds, "But if that too should fail me, my last and final resource is a pistol." *(Milless Rowley, p. 459.)*

11. On his arrival in London, April 25th, 1770, he soon began to find his splendid day-dreams of greatness vanish under the chilling, apathetic neglect of those who, from their station in life his imagination had exalted into patrons; and to the countenance of whom he had fondly turned with all the fervour of youthful enthusiasm. After passing a few short months in the presence of the wealthy great; in spite of his matchless, his unwearied industry; spite of the multitudinous productions of his pen; his frugality and his abstemiousness,—he was reduced to a state of actual starvation. Two miserable, melancholy days were passed by him without food, and without prospect of being able to procure it; when, maddened by his distresses, and the bitter reflections which his proud and haughty spirit could not brook,—in an evil hour, separated from his friends, without one kind being to console his sufferings,—at the early age of seventeen years and nine months, he rushed into the presence of his Maker by taking a dose of poison. At this melancholy termination of his career, Parnassus itself seemed to vomit forth its treasures, in tribute to his memory. Ode succeeded ode, elegy followed elegy—every votary of the muses anxiously pressed forward to snatch his memory from oblivion, and sorrowfully to bear testimony to his superior excellence. Alas! that such should be the waywardness of human nature,

that those who could estimate his talents, and had the power to alleviate his sufferings—who could come forth before the world in all the elegance of poetry and the eloquence of affliction at his untimely—his agonizing end—would not so much as raise a finger to prevent a catastrophe they so deeply lamented.

12. In Notes and Queries, vol vii. p. 138, is a communication from John Matthew Gutch, Esq. now of Worcester, but formerly one of the proprietors of Felix Farley's Bristol Journal, and a resident in the latter city—of which the following is a copy :—

"Account of an Inquest held on the body of Thomas Chatterton, deceased, at the Three Crows, Brook Street, Holborn, on Friday, the 27th of August, 1770, (three days after his death,) before Swinson Carter, Esq., and the following jury:—Charles Skinner, ——— Meres, John Hollier, John Park, S. G. Doran, Henry Dugdale, G. J. Hillsley, C. Sheen, E. Manley, C. Moore, ——— Nevett.

"Mary Angell, sack maker, of No. 17, Brook Street, Holborn, deposed, that the deceased came to lodge at her house about nine or ten weeks ago; he took the room below the garret; he always slept in the same room; he was very exact in his payments to her; and at one time, when she knew he had paid her all the money he had in the world, she offered him sixpence back, which he refused to take, saying: 'I have that here (pointing to his forehead) which will get me more.' He used to sit up nearly all night, and she frequently found his bed untouched in the

morning, when she went to make it. She knew he always bought his loaves—one of which lasted him for a week—as stale as possible, that they might last the longer: and, two days before his death, he came home in a great passion with the baker's wife, who had refused to let him have another loaf until he paid her 3s. 6d. which he owed her previously. He, the deceased, appeared unusually grave on the 23d August; and, on her asking him what ailed him, he answered pettishly: 'Nothing, nothing—why do you ask? On the morning of the 24th August, he lay in bed longer than usual; got up about ten o'clock, and went out with a bundle of paper under his arm, which he said 'was a treasure to any one, but there were so many fools in the world that he would put them in a place of safety, lest they should meet with accident.' He returned about seven in the evening, looking very pale and dejected; and would not eat any thing, but sat moping by the fire with his chin on his knees, and muttering rhymes in some old language to her. Witness saw him for the last time when he got up to go to bed; he then kissed her (a thing he had never done in his life before,) and then went up stairs, stamping on every stair as he went slowly up, as if he would break it. Witness stated that he did not come down next morning, but she was not alarmed, as he had lain longer than usual on the day before; but at eleven o'clock, Mrs. Wolfe, a neighbour's wife, coming in, they went and listened at the door, and tried to open it, but it was locked. At last, they got a man who was near to break it open; and they found him lying on the bed with his legs hanging over, quite dead: the bed had not been lain on. The floor was covered all over with little bits of paper; and on one piece the man read, in deceased's hand-writing, 'I leave my soul

to its Maker, my body to my mother and sister, and my curse to Bristol. If Mr. Ca.....' the rest was torn off. The man then said he must have killed himself, which we did not think till then, not having seen the poison till an hour after. Deceased was very proud, but never unkind to any one. I do not think he was quite right in his mind lately. The man took away the paper, and I have not been able to find him out.

"Frederick Angell deposed to the fact of deceased lodging at their house; was from home when deceased was found. Always considered him something wonderful, and was sometimes afraid he would go out of his mind. Deceased was always writing to his mother or sister, of whom he appeared to be very fond. I never knew him in liquor, and never saw him drink any thing but water.

"Edwin Cross, apothecary, Brook Street, Holborn, knew the deceased well, from the time he came to live with Mrs. Angell in the same street. Deceased used generally to call on him every time he went by his door, which was usually two or three times a day. Deceased used to talk a great deal about physic, and was very inquisitive about the nature of different poisons. I often asked him to take a meal with us, but he was so proud that I could never but once prevail on him, though I knew he was half-starving. One evening he did stay, when I unusually pressed him. He talked a great deal, but all at once became silent, and looked quite vacant. He used to go very often to Falcon Court, to a Mr. Hamilton, who printed a magazine; but who, he said, was using him very badly. I once recommended him to return to Bristol, but he only heaved a deep sigh; and begged me, with tears in his eyes, never to mention the hated name again. He called on me on the 24th

August about half-past eleven in the morning, and bought some arsenic, which he said was for an experiment. About the same time next day, Mrs. Wolfe ran in for me, saying deceased had killed himself. I went to his room, and found him quite dead. On his window was a bottle containing arsenic and water; some of the little bits of arsenic were between his teeth. I believe if he had not killed himself, he would soon have died from starvation; for he was too proud to ask of any one. Witness always considered deceased as an astonishing genius.

"Anne Wolfe, of Brook Street. Witness lived three doors from Mrs. Angell's; knew the deceased well; always thought him very proud and haughty. She sometimes thought him crazed. She saw him one night walking up and down the street at twelve o'clock, talking loud, and occasionally stopping, as if to think on something. One day he came in to buy some curls, which he said he wanted to send to his sister; but he could not pay the price, and went away seemingly much mortified. On the 25th August, Mrs. Angell asked her to go up stairs with her to Thomas's room: they could make no one hear. And, at last, being frightened, they got a man who was going by to break open the door, when they found him dead on the bed. The floor was covered with little bits of paper, and the man who was with them picked up several and took away with him.

"Verdict.—Felo de se."

13. It has always been supposed that the remains of Chatterton were deposited after the inquest, in the burying-ground of Shoe-lane work-

house, where Farringdon Market now stands, and it has been so reported by nearly every writer upon the subject. But the subjoined letter (see also Appendix to Dix's life of Chatterton, p. 185) kindly forwarded for publication by my esteemed friend Mr Hare, will scarcely fail to satisfy the reader that this is an error, and assure him that the bones of the poor lad have rested undisturbed from the period of his death, in his father's grave in the church-yard of St. Mary Redcliffe—there to mingle in *consecrated* ground with those he loved in life, and who were not, like him, denied the last sad offices of the Church. The letter alluded to was written in reply to some inquiries made by the gentleman to whom it is addressed, which had a special reference to the unfortunate poet's monument. It is as follows :—

"To *Firfield, January 11th*, 1853.

Sholto Vere Hare, Esq.

My Dear Sir,

"I am glad to find that there is one man in Bristol so endued with sufficient public spirit as to interfere in the wrongs of Chatterton's monument.

"You are probably unaware that Chatterton, instead of having been buried in the grave-yard of Shoreditch (Shoe-lane) Workhouse, was buried *in our Redcliffe Church Yard*. I will state to you the evidence on which this fact rests, and which quite satisfies my mind.

"About forty years ago, Mr. Geo. Cumberland (a descendant of Bishop Cumberland, a literary and highly respectable man whom I well knew) called on me and said "I have ascertained one important fact respecting Chatterton."—'What is it?' I replied.—'It is,' said he, 'that that marvellous boy was buried in Redcliffe Church-yard." He continued, 'I am

just come from conversing with old *Mrs. Edkins*, a friend of Chatterton's mother: she affirmed to me this fact with the following explanation." Thus Mrs. Edkins,—'Mrs. Chatterton was passionately fond of her darling and only son *Thomas*, and when she heard that he had destroyed himself, she immediately wrote to a relation of hers, (the poet's Uncle, then residing in London,) a Carpenter, urging him to send down his body in a coffin or box. The box was accordingly sent down to Bristol, and when I called on my friend Mrs. Chatterton to condole with her, she as a great secret took me up stairs and shewed me the box, and removing the lid, I saw the poor boy whilst his mother sobbed in silence. She told me she should have him taken out in the middle of the night and bury him in Redcliffe Church-yard. Afterwards when I saw her, she said she had managed it very well, so that none but the sexton and his assistant knew any thing about it. This secrecy was necessary, or he could not be buried in consecrated ground.'

"This evidence I think quite sufficient to satisfy all reasonable minds. What so natural as to believe that Chatterton was buried in the family grave?

"It appears to me that the beautiful Chatterton monument should be placed over this grave *with a good foundation*, It would be a most interesting object, and creditable to Bristol. If you should be able to accomplish this *it will do you much honour*.

"I subscribed a guinea towards the monument, and should be happy to subscribe another guinea towards its re-erection.

I am, my dear Sir,
Very truly yours,
JOSEPH COTTLE.

"P.S. I know the husband of Mrs. Edkins—he was a respectable Painter and Glazier.

"Insanity was a family complaint in the Chattertons." (Appendix BB.)

14. In consequence of the above letter, Mr. Hare had an interview with the writer of it, who agreed with him that the site proposed in that communication for the monument was injudicious, the grave being not only in *consecrated* ground,

but too near the church to render the re-erection of the memorial on such a spot altogether appropriate. The north-east corner of the church-yard, having been formerly occupied by the wretched tenements once forming part of Pyle-street, and therefore *unconsecrated* for the purposes of interment, presented (it was argued) a far more unobjectionable situation whereon to place it. This spot is, however, too far from the north porch, between which, the scene of his supposed discoveries, and the transept of the Church,—and somewhat in advance of both,—the monument ought to be placed; and surely if it be true that the *body* of Chatterton lies interred in the *consecrated* ground of Redcliffe, his memorial, in *stone*, which has long been consigned to the crypt of the edifice, could give no very great offence if re-erected in the same time-honoured locality? Let us hope that those who have the power; will exercise the kindlier charities of our nature towards erring humanity, and pay this poor tribute to the aspiring muse of one who has reared so many imperishable monuments to himself—which will remain the mementos of his wonderful though misapplied genius to latest posterity.

15. The memorial to Chatterton, referred to in the above remarks, was erected by subscription, in 1840 (Appendix CC.) at the north-west angle of the church-yard, between the tower and the north

porch; but when the restoration of the latter part of the structure was resolved on, it was removed, and deposited in the place above stated to preserve it from injury. It is pentagonal in design, and is divided into three stages—the first contains the inscriptions given below—the second is composed of niches, the central having an open scroll inscribed "The Poems of Rowlie;" and the third supports on its summit a figure of Chatterton, habited as an inmate of Colston's school, holding in his left hand a scroll inscribed "Ella, a tragedie." The whole design is in accordance with the style of the exterior north porch of the church, and is worthy the talent of the architect S. C. Fripp, Esq. of this city. The inscription on the first side is—

TO THE MEMORY

OF

THOMAS CHATTERTON.

Reader! judge not. If thou art a Christian, believe that he shall be judged by a superior Power—to that Power alone is he now answerable.

On the side facing Redcliffe Street.

Know all; know infidels, unapt to know,
'Tis immortality your nature solves;
'Tis immortality deciphers man
And opens all the mysteries of his make.
Without it half his instincts are a riddle:
Without it all his virtues are a dream:
His very crimes attest his dignity;
His sateless appetite of gold and fame
Declares him born for blessings infinite.—DR. YOUNG.

On the side towards the Porch Steps.

A poor and friendless boy was he, to whom
Is raised this monument, without a tomb.
There seek his dust, there o'er his genius sigh,
Where famished outcasts unrecorded lie:
Here let his name, for here his genius rose
To might of ancient days, in peace repose!
Here, wondrous boy! to more than want consign'd,
To cold neglect, worse famine of the mind;
All uncongenial the bright world within
To that without of darkness and of sin,
He lived a mystery—died. Here, reader, pause:
Let God be judge, and mercy plead the cause.

On the fourth side.

A posthumous child.
Born in this parish, 20th November, 1752.
Died in London, 24th August, 1770. Æt. 18.

On the fifth side.

Admitted into Colston's School, 3rd August, 1760.
Dunelmus bristoliensis, 1768.
rowlie mccccyyyyyiv 1769.

On the Base, under the first Inscription.

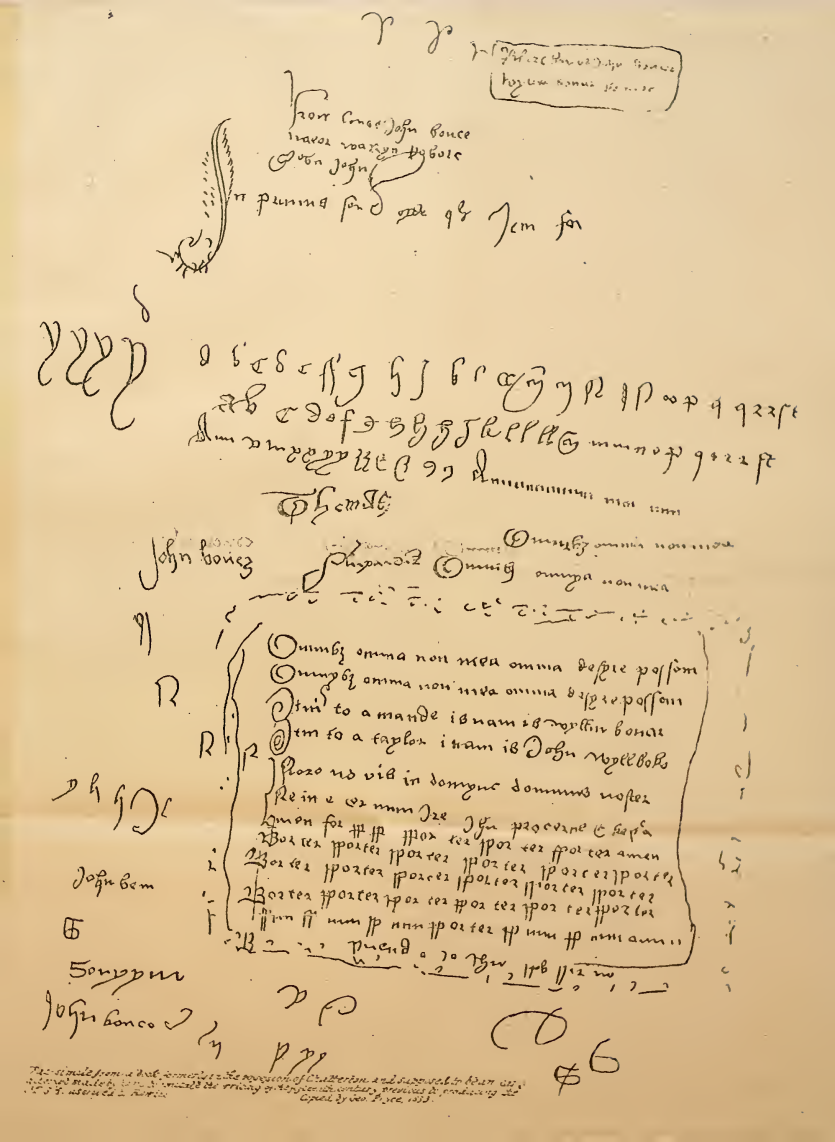
Erected by subscription, A. D. 1840. (Appendix DD.)

16. The death of Chatterton caused no little stir among the authorities of St. Mary Redcliffe, who were desirous of regaining possession of the manuscripts which had been removed from the Church by the father of the unfortunate youth. The demand for a restitution of these documents was met with a prompt return of all which remained in possession of the family; and among others was a book containing a few leaves inscribed with entries relating to church matters—but which it is

known was once in the custody of the poet. From this document, which is chiefly written in red ink characters, I have traced an entire page, (the last, or fly-leaf of the book) which in my judgment bears satisfactory evidence that by means of this and other similar papers taken from the chests in the muniment room of Redcliffe church, Chatterton was enabled to manufacture an alphabet after the fashion of the times in which Rowley, the monk of his own creation, is said to have written the manuscripts which bear his name. On this page I doubt not we look upon the veritable writing of the boy-bard, who, in his self-imposed task has imitated the characters of the Middle Ages after the manner of a learner. In presenting this page of the book to the reader, my object is to enable him to judge for himself, whether it is not evidence sufficient to warrant a belief that by such means Chatterton obtained a knowledge of the writing used in the time of Edward IV,—the era of the imaginary Rowley—and that he alone was the author of the wonderful productions referred to.

17. On the decease of John Chatterton, the uncle of our poet, who had been sexton for the space of thirty years,—William Chatterton then a ticket porter at the Tolsey, presented a petition to the vestry of St. Mary Redcliffe of which the following is a copy *verbatim et literatim*:—

eight o'clock, being the Feast of the Resurrection.



[illegible]

Frere Cuncte John bouce
maior [illegible]
John John

In primis [illegible] Item for

[illegible]

Thomas

John bouez

Omnibz omnia non mea

Omnibz omnia non mea omnia despre possem
Omnibz omnia non mea omnia despre possem
Item to a mande is nam is wyllin bouce
Item to a taylor i nam is John wyllbobs
Ipsoro no vis in domyne dominus noster
Re in e er num Ire Jhu procerne [illegible]
Amen for [illegible] porter porter porter amen
Porter porter porter porter porter porter porter
Porter porter porter porter porter porter porter
Porter porter porter porter porter porter porter
[illegible] num [illegible] num [illegible] num [illegible]
[illegible] Puend [illegible] Jhu [illegible]

John bem

Souppur

John bouco

[illegible]

[illegible] Copied by [illegible] 1953.

"To the Gentlemen of the Vestry of the Parish of Saint Mary Redcliffe.

"The humble Petition of William Chatterton of the parish of Saint Mary Redcliffe (and the Son of John Chatterton who was Sexton of the said parish upwards of Thirty Years) most humbly

"Sheweth

That your Petitioner has a family of a Wife and Child, and thro' Misfortunes am obliged to be a Ticket porter at the Tolsey

"And as there is now a Vacancy if my Brother in Law, Richard Phillips accepts of being Clerk in the Room of Mr. Colstring dec[d]

"Most humbly prays you would be pleased to appoint me a Sexton thereof and If I am so happy as to Gain such appointment will discharge the Duty therein by a Diligent Attendance therein.

"Bristol Jany. 22nd 1772.

And your Petitioner as in
Duty bound shall for
ever pray &c.
Wm. CHATTERTON."

This petition was unsuccessful, the prayer of the applicant having been rejected probably through the breach of confidence of which other members of the family had been guilty anterior to his time.

18. It appears that before Chatterton left Bristol for London, he made his Will of which the following is a copy: the original is preserved in the library of the Bristol Philosophical Institution:—

"This is the last will and testament of me Thomas Chatterton, of the city of Bristol; being sound in body, or it is the fault of my last surgeon: the soundness of my mind, the coroner and jury are to be judges of, desiring them to take notice, that the most perfect masters of human nature in Bristol distinguish me by the title of the Mad Genius; therefore, if I do a mad action, it is conformable to every action of my life, which all savour'd of insanity.

"Item. If after my death, which will happen to-morrow night before eight o'clock, being the Feast of the Resurrection, the coroner and jury

bring it in lunacy, I will and direct, that John Farr, Esq., and Mr. John Flower, at their joint expense, cause my body to be interred in the tomb of my fathers, and raise the monument over my body to the height of four feet five inches, placing the present flat stone on the top, and adding 6 tablets.

"On the *first* to be engraved, in old English characters:

Uous qui par ici paser
Pur l'ame Euateroine Chatterton priez
Le Cors di oi ici gist
L'ame receybe Thu Crist. MCCC.

"On the *second* tablet, in old English characters:

Orate pro animabus Alanus Chatterton, et Alicia Uxoris ejus, qui quidem Alanus obiet x die mensis Novemb. MCCCCXU, quorum animabus propinetur Deus, Amen.

"On the *third* tablet, in Roman Characters:

Sacred to the memory of

THOMAS CHATTERTON,

Sub-chaunter of the cathedral of this city, whose ancestors were residents of St. Mary Redcliffe since the year 1149. He died the 7th of August, 1752.

"On the *fourth* tablet, in Roman Characters:

To the memory of

THOMAS CHATTERTON;

Reader judge not; if thou art a Christian—believe that he shall be judged by a superior power—to that power alone is he now answerable.

"On the *fifth* and *sixth* tablets, which shall front each other:

Atchievements, viz. on the one, vert, a fess, or; crest, a mantle of estate, gules, supported by a spear, sable, headed, or. On the other, or, a fess vert, crest, a cross of knights templars.—And I will and direct that if the coroner's inquest bring it in felo-de-se, the said monument shall be not-

withstanding erected. And if the said John Farr and John Flower have souls so Bristolish as to refuse this my request, they will transmit a copy of my will to the society for supporting the bill of rights, whom I hereby empower to build the said monument, according to the aforesaid directions. And if they the said John Farr and John Flower, should build the said monument; I will and direct that the 2nd edition of my Kew Gardens, shall be dedicated to them in the following dedication—To John Farr and John Flower, Esqrs., this book is most humbly dedicated by the author's ghost.

"Item. I give all my vigour and fire of youth to Mr. George Catcott, being sensible he is most in want of it.

"Item. From the same charitable motive, I give and bequeath unto the Reverend Mr. Camplin, senior, all my humility. To Mr. Burgum all my prosody and grammar, likewise one moiety of my modesty, the other moiety to any young lady who can prove, without blushing, that she wants that valuable commodity. To Bristol all my spirit and disinterestedness, parcels of goods unknown on her quay since the days of Canning and Rowley! 'Tis true a charitable gentleman, one Mr. Colston, smuggled a considerable quantity of it, but it being proved he was a papist, the worshipful society of aldermen endeavoured to throttle him with the oath of allegiance. I leave also my religion to Dr. Cutts Barton, dean of Bristol, hereby empowering the sub-sacrist to strike him on the head when he goes to sleep in church. My powers of utterance I give to the Reverend Mr. Broughton, hoping he will employ them to a better purpose than reading lectures on the immortality of the soul: I leave the Reverend Mr. Catcott, some little of my free-thinking, that he may put on spectacles of reason and see how vilely he is duped in believing the scriptures literally. I wish he and his brother George would know how far I am their real enemy, but I have an unlucky way of raillery, and when the strong fit of satire is upon me, I spare neither friend nor foe. This is my excuse for what I have said of them elsewhere. I leave Mr. Clayfield the sincerest thanks my gratitude can give, and I will and direct that whatever any person may think the pleasure of reading my works worth, they immediately pay their own valuation to him, since it is then become a lawful debt to me, and to him as my executor in this case.

"I leave my moderation to the politicians on both sides of the question. I leave my generosity to our present right worshipful mayor, Thomas

Harris, Esq. I give my abstinence to the company at the sheriff's annual feast in general, more particularly to the aldermen.

"Item. I give and bequeath to Mr. Matthew Mease a mourning ring, with this motto, 'Alas, poor Chatterton!' provided he pays for it himself.—Item. I leave the young ladies all the letters they have had from me, assuring them that they need be under no apprehensions from the appearance of my ghost, for I die for none of them.—Item. I leave all my debts, the whole not five pounds, to the payment of the charitable and generous chamber of Bristol, on penalty, if refused, to hinder every member from a good dinner, by appearing in the form of a bailiff. If in defiance of this terrible spectre, they obstinately persist in refusing to discharge my debts, let my two creditors apply to the supporters of the bill of rights.—Item. I leave my mother and sister to the protection of my friends, if I have any. Executed in the presence of Omniscience this 14th of April, 1770.

"THOS. CHATTERTON.

"Codicil.

"It is my pleasure that Mr. Cocking and Miss Farley print this my will the first Saturday after my death.

"T. C."

19. It would appear that when Chatterton made this will, he had no intention of going to London. He had repeatedly stated that he should end his days by suicide, but these threats were regarded as mere idle words until his master discovered the document above given. Dr. Gregory informs his readers he had good authority for stating "that it was occasioned by the refusal of a gentleman, whom he, (Chatterton) had complimented in his poems, to accomodate him with a supply of money," and this circumstance will account for his having stated that his death would take place at a certain time.

20. It is not possible to ascertain when, or through what channel Chatterton first imbibed those principles of infidelity which are apparent in many of his avowed productions, and which ultimately deprived the world prematurely of his rare abilities. Although his religious creed may have been very early somewhat of a speculative character, the following hitherto unpublished lines,—written impromptu by him in presence of his friend Mr. William Smith, brother to the late Mr. Richard Smith, Surgeon, Park-street, Bristol, prior to his going to London,—will shew that his mind was not then so tainted with the sceptical notions referred to as some have represented it to be.

"Say, oh my soul, if not allowed to be
Immortal, whence the mystery we see,
Day after day, and hour after hour,
But to proclaim its never ceasing power?
If *not* immortal—then our thoughts of thee
Are visions but of *non* futurity.
Why do we live to feel of pain on pain,
If, in the midst of hope, we hope in vain.
Perish the thought in night's eternal shade,
To *live*—then *die*—man was not *only* made.
There's yet an awful something else remains,
Either to lessen or increase our pains!
Whate'er it be, whate'er man's future fate,
Nature proclaims, there *is* another state
Of woe—or bliss! But who is he can tell?
None but the good, and they that have done well.
Oh! may that happiness be ours, my friend!
The little we have now will shortly end;

When joy and bliss more lasting will appear
Or all our hopes translated into fear!
Oh! may our portion in that world above,
Eternal Fountain of Eternal love!
Be crowned with peace that bids the sinner *live*,
With praise to Him, who only can forgive—
Blot out the stains and errors of our youth;
Whose smile is mercy, and whose word is truth."

21. These beautiful lines appear to have been written by Chatterton in the year 1768; and although containing such ennobling thoughts on the soul's immortality, and such ardent aspirations after the bliss of heaven, it is but too apparent from a perusal of his poem on Happiness, that in the following year he had drank copiously at the poisoned stream of infidelity, when he was but just turned seventeen years of age. At that date he wrote the following Articles of Belief, which were copied from a pocket-book once belonging to him, but subsequently possessed by the late Mr. Cottle.

"1. That God being incomprehensible it is not required of us to know the mysteries of the Trinity, &c.

"2. That it matters not whether a man is a Pagan, Turk, Jew, or Christian, if he acts according to the religion he professes.

"3. That if a man leads a good moral life, he is a good Christian.

"4. That the stage is the best school of morality.

"5. That the Church of Rome (some tricks of priestcraft excepted) is certainly the true Church.

"The Articles of the Belief of me
"THOMAS CHATTERTON."

22. In a letter to Mr. Catcott (to whom his poem on Happiness was addressed, and whom he satirizes in his will,) dated "London, August 12th, 1770,"—twelve days only before he terminated his career by his own hand—Chatterton writes thus, "Heaven send you the comforts of Christianity! I request them not, for I am no Christian." That the unhappy youth was far from being orthodox in religious matters, other portions of his writings abundantly testify. His lively inquiring disposition had probably made him acquainted with the works of the leading sceptics of the day, and the insidious art with which they have larded their apparently plausible doctrines, suiting the inquisitive speculations of Chatterton, he too readily adopted their pernicious opinions as his own—threw off the easy, but, to his inexperienced mind the seemingly burthensome, yoke of religious obligation, and cast aside for ever what he conceived to be the trammels of a scriptural belief imposed upon humanity by interested teachers. "Wretched is that person," says Dr. Gregory, "who, in the ardour and impetuosity of youth, finds himself released from all the salutary restraints of duty and religion; wretched is he, who, deprived of all the comforting hopes of another state, is reduced to seek for happiness in the vicious gratifications of this life." Infidelity in its progress from speculative to practical ir-

religion, never fails "to unhinge the mind, and render it the sport of some passion, unfriendly to our happiness and prosperity. One of its first effects in Chatterton was to render the idea of suicide familiar, and to dispose him to think lightly of the most sacred deposit with which man is intrusted by his Creator." The result upon his susceptible mind, when indigence, privation, and want lashed his impetuous spirit into madness; and a firm and abiding confidence in the Providence of that God whose word he had repudiated —utterly forsook him—was to hurry him into the presence of Deity, "with all his imperfections on his head," by the commission of a crime familiarized to him by the deadly doctrines he had embraced, and terminate an existence in Time which his rejection of Christianity had taught him to regard as not be accounted for in Eternity.

23. But the adoption of infidel opinions by Chatterton was not only fatal to the religious belief in which he had been educated, but it also undermined his moral character, and subjected it to the governance of motives unworthy of him. A perusal of his letters as given by his biographers will shew that as age increased, a great want of sterling principle is apparent in the youth, which, from the unbending nature of his temper we should not have looked for. I have already intimated that for a long time before he quitted Bristol, he

had written for the most popular periodicals, which then formed "the school of the people,"—his prose contributions having generally a tendency to hold up the ruling powers to the reprobation and disgust of the multitude. His success in this line, fostered that innate pride of his heart for which he was so remarkable. Friends and foes he satirized alike in terms not always clothed in the most delicate phraseology. Even princes did not escape his invective, and his bitter irony spared not the reputation of officials in the church, of irreproachable character. His ever active mind levelled its artillery against those who served him, as well as against those who refused him aid. Party writing gratified his vanity, for by it he sought to be brought into notoriety, and "he hoped, with the blessing of God, very soon to be sent prisoner to the Tower, which would make his fortune," by raising him to the dignity of a political martyr, and embalming his memory in the recollection of those whose cause he professed to have espoused for reasons pure and disinterested. He speaks of Wilkes and other demagogues with all the familiarity of boon-companionship; and relates in the exuberance of his buoyant spirits the success of his reception with the celebrated and patriotic Lord Mayor of London, William Beckford. His arrogance increased, as he advanced towards the climax of his course, and he often exultingly

exclaimed "that he would settle the nation before he had done." Yet with all this show of ardent zeal in the cause of the people, there was a manifest want of sturdy principle in Chatterton at this very time, which marred all his apparent love of country. Hear him—"*no money is to be got* on that (the opposition) side of the question; *interest* is on the other side. *But he is a poor author who cannot write on both sides.* I believe I may be introduced (and if I am not, I'll introduce myself) to a ruling power in the Court party."—"The pride of genius will seldom descend to the most contemptible of vices, falsehood; yet on the 26th May, 1770—three months before he died—Chatterton addressed a letter to Lord North, the Premier, in which he eulogises the Administration for rejecting the City Remonstrance presented by the Lord Mayor, Beckford, to the King; and yet *on the same day* he wrote an epistle to the latter containing "a virulent invective against Government for rejecting (that very) Remonstrance!" What a pitiable object does this poor youth here present to the reader! Did not truth oblige the biographer to note the errors as well as the excellences of Genius, he would have thrown a veil over the instance of moral delinquency before us, uninscribed, except with the unfortunate bard's own motto,

"Alas, poor Chatterton!

24. The Rev. Dr. Vicesimus Knox in a beautiful summary of the character of Chatterton thus writes in No. 144 of his Essays :—

"Unfortunate boy! short and evil were thy days, but thy fame shall be immortal.....Poorly wast thou accommodated during thy short sojourning among us;—rudely wast thou treated,—sorely did thy feeling soul suffer from the scorn of the unworthy; and there are, at last, those who would wish to rob thee of thy only meed, thy posthumous glory. Severe too are the censurers of thy morals. In the gloomy moments of despondency, I fear thou hast uttered impious and blasphemous thoughts, which none can defend, and which neither thy youth, nor thy fiery spirit, nor thy situation, can excuse. But let thy more rigid censors reflect, that thou wast literally and strictly but a boy. Let many of thy bitterest enemies reflect what were their own religious principles, and whether they had any, at the age of fourteen, fifteen, and sixteen. Surely it is a severe and unjust surmise, that thou wouldest probably have ended thy life as a victim of the laws, if thou hadst not finished it as thou didst; since the very act by which thou durst put an end to thy painful existence, proves that thou thoughtest it better to die, than to support life by theft or violence.

"The speculative errors of a boy who wrote from the sudden suggestions of passion or despond-

cacy, who is not convicted of any immoral or dishonest act in consequence of his speculations, ought to be consigned to oblivion. But there seems to be a general and inveterate dislike to the boy, exclusively of the poet; a dislike which many will be ready to impute, and, indeed, not without the appearance of reason, to that insolence and envy of the little great, which cannot bear to acknowledge so transcendant and commanding a superiority in the humble child of want and obscurity.

"Malice, if there was any, may surely now be at rest; for 'Cold he lies in the grave below.' But where were ye, O ye friends to genius, when, stung with disappointment, distressed for food and raiment, with every frightful form of human misery painted on his fine imagination, poor Chatterton sunk in despair? Alas! ye knew him not then, and now it is too late,—

> For now he is dead;
> Gone to his death bed,
> All under the willow tree.

So sang the sweet youth, in as tender an elegy as ever flowed from a feeling heart.

"In return for the pleasure I have received from thy poems, I pay thee, poor boy, the trifling tribute of my praise. Thyself thou hast emblazoned; thine own monument thou hast erected: but they whom thou hast delighted, feel a pleasure in vindi-

cating thine honours from the rude attacks of detraction."

25. Mr. Warton in his History of English Poetry, speaks of Chatterton as being "a prodigy of genius," and as "a singular instance of a prematurity of abilities." He adds, that "he possessed a comprehension of mind, and an activity of understanding, which predominated over his situation in life, and his opportunities of instruction." Mr. Malone "believes him to have been the greatest genius that England has produced since the days of Shakespeare. Mr. Croft asserts that "no such human being, at any period of life, has ever been known, or possibly ever will be known; nor does my memory," he continues, "supply me with any one, who, at such an age, and with such disadvantages, has produced such compositions. Under the Heathen mythology, superstition and admiration would have explained all by bringing Apollo upon earth: nor would the god ever have descended with more credit to himself."

26. "The following parallel also by the same ingenious critic, does equal credit to the perceptions of the author, and the reputation of Chatterton." (Gregory.)

"*Milton* enjoyed every advantage not only of private, but of public, not only of domestic, but of foreign, education: *Chatterton* wanted every advantage of every possible education.

"*Milton* in his youth received such instructions from teachers and schoolmasters, that, in his age, he was able to become a schoolmaster, and a teacher to others: *Chatterton* became his own teacher and his own schoolmaster before other children are subjects for instruction, and never knew any other.

"*Milton's* juvenile writings would not have justified a prophecy of Paradise Lost: but the author of them flatters himself, by dating his life fifteen till he was turned sixteen. Few, if any, of Milton's juvenile writings would have been owned by *Chatterton*, at least by Rowley, could he have passed for the author of them.

"Milton did not produce *Comus* much earlier than in his 26th year; and when he was 47, after *long choosing, and beginning late*, he set himself to turn a strange thing, called a Mystery, into an epic poem; which was not completed in less than *Chatterton's* whole active existence, and with all its glorious perfections, Paradise Lost contains puerilities, to which Chatterton was a stranger.

"*Chatterton*, not suffered to be *long choosing*, or to *begin late*, in seventeen years and nine months, reckoning from his cradle to his grave, produced the volume of Rowley's poems, his volume of Miscellanies, and many things which are not printed, beside what his indignation tore in pieces

the day he spurned at the world, and threw himself on the anger of his Creator.

"If in the course of an existence almost four-times longer than Chatterton's, *Milton (fallen on evil days and evil tongues,* with less truth than *Chatterton,)* who bore no fruit worth gathering till after the age at which Chatterton was withered by the hand of Death—if, I say, this great man produced other writings, he will not quarrel that posterity has forgotten them; if he should, posterity will still perhaps forget them.

"*Milton's* manuscripts, preserved at Cambridge, bear testimony to his frequent and commendable correction; but what time could *Chatterton* have found for alteration or correction, when I maintain that any boy who should only have fairly *transcribed,* before his eighteenth year, all that Chatterton, before his eighteenth year invented and composed, would be thought to deserve the reputation of diligence, and the praise of application?

"*Milton,* as Ellwood relates, could never bear to hear Paradise Lost preferred before Paradise Regained. He is known to have pronounced Dryden to be no poet.

"If *Chatterton,* much earlier in life than Milton, was calculated either to be an author or a critic, had not possessed a chaster judgment, he would not still impose on so many critics and authors."

27. Such was Thomas Chatterton! a name of

which Bristol has so much reason to be proud. Whether we consider his precocity—his singular and early tendency to reflection, so much opposed to his infantine years—the progress he made in literature—or the beautiful monument of genius he left behind him in the poems of Rowley, we shall in every case, find much to excite our surprise and admiration. Seldom, if ever, have the most touching qualities of the poet been more strikingly blended with the sterner virtues of the philosopher. Much as we have heard of the powers of his gigantic mind, we are still disposed to bestow our warmest praise upon his literary acquirements; and brief as may have been this sketch of his life, we prefer dwelling with the greatest emphasis on his extraordinary genius. Nor has the voice of partiality exaggerated the merits of his literary attainments, for they deserve our most ardent commendation. The choicest gifts of the most brilliant genius are abundantly scattered over his works. The flow of fancy—the charm of eloquence—and the sharpness of satire are copiously exhibited; and one is lost in admiration of the bright display, which, while it presents the most striking pictures of imagery, offers also a richness of diction, a knowledge of the language and manners of the olden time, which would not have disgraced one of maturer age. At a period far short of that when it is generally con-

sidered the physical and mental powers are most fully developed, Chatterton was comparatively an old man, and the ever-stirring activity of his genius had arrested the admiration of the learned of the age. Excursive in imagination, correct in judgment, forcible in expression, and in his knowledge of history and acquaintance with English Antiquity, extensive and discriminating—his characters possess an individuality and truth, equalled alone by reality itself. In the romantic wanderings of fancy, he is alike consistent and true; and no writer, since the days of Shakspeare, save Sir Walter Scott, has so successfully embodied the vivid creations of the mind with the identities of nature. Yet we grieve, whilst bestowing the meed of praise on the genius of Chatterton, that he should in his exit out of time, have afforded a painful example of the nothingness of human nature. The star that seemed created to diffuse such brilliancy over the land of his birth as to eclipse all the splendour of the shining myriads around it, was doomed to run but a momentary, though dazzling career. Like a tender flower, he was nipped in his opening bloom; but not before its sweet perfumes had diffused a grateful odour around—not before he had sung,

> "Canynges and I from common course depart;
> We soar on high, and in the sun-beams shine."

28. "The whole of Chatterton's life" says Dr. Gregory, "presents a fund of useful instruction to young persons of brilliant and lively talents, and affords a strong dissuasive against that impetuosity of expectation, and those delusive hopes of success, founded upon the conciousness of genius and merit, which lead them to neglect the ordinary means of acquiring competence and independence. The early disgust which Chatterton conceived for his profession, may be accounted one of the prime sources of his misfortunes; and the efforts which he made to extricate himself from his irksome situation, tended only to involve him in the vortex of destruction."....." Chatterton had one ruling passion which governed his whole conduct, and that was the desire of literary fame; this passion intruded itself on every occasion, and absorbed his whole attention. Whether he would have continued to improve, or the contrary, must have depended in some measure on the circumstances of his future life. Had he fallen into profligate habits and connections, he would probably have lost a great part of his ardour for the cultivation of his mind; and his maturer age would only have diminished the admiration which the efforts of his childhood have so justly excited." To rescue the memory of his relations from entire oblivion, in the month of March, 1853, a new grave-stone was laid, in place of one decayed

and illegible, over the remains of his father, mother, sister, and others of kin to the ill-fated bard, bearing the following inscription:—

In memory of
Thomas Chatterton,
Schoolmaster, who died
7th August, 1752, Aged 39 years.
Also, Thomas Newton, son-in-law
of the above, who died 29th Sept^r
1785, aged 40 years.
Also, 2 of his Sons, and 1 Daughter,
Also, Sarah Chatterton, widow
of the above Thos Chatterton,
who died 25th Decr 1791,
Aged 60 years.
Also, Mary Newton, Widow of the
above Thos Newton, who died
23rd February, 1804, Aged 53 years.
Also, Mary Ann Newton, Spinster,
Daughter of the above Thomas
and Mary Newton, who died 7th
September, 1807, Aged 24 years.
The Old Tombstone having
fallen into decay was thus replaced,
Anno Domini, MDCCCLIII.
Sholto Vere Hare,
William Henry Edwards,
Churchwardens.

APPENDIX.

Appendix A.—page 38.

In the course of my researches I have found the name occurring in connection with the county of Wilts in a great many instances: it is variously spelt as follows between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries:—de Kanynggs; Kanynges; Canyngg; Canynggs; Canyngges; Canynges; Canyngs; Canyngge; and Canyng. In the work now before the reader, I invariably spell it Canynges, except where quoting other writers, as appearing to be most used by the family in the Middle Ages.

In 1297 Richardus de Canyngs was clerk or priest of the chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the church of Little Cheveril. In 1299 Richardus de Kanynges (probably another person) filled a similar office at Hardene Hewys. In 1329 Johannes Cannynges was patron and rector of Fisherton de la mere, but non-resident; and so continued until his death in 1351. (See "Institutiones Ex Registro Simonis de Gandavo novæ Sarum Episcopi.")

Appendix B.—page 60.

"1379 the King directs a writ to Bishop Hatfield on complaint of William and John Canynges merchants of Bristol, ordering John Heiselden, senior, Andrew Brountoft, &c., to appear in the court at Westminster to answer for having seized and carried into Hartlepool, a ship of Canyng's sailing towards Calais and Flanders..... These were the bright days of Hartlepool, when our Edwards and our Henrys pressed her sails and her marrieners for transports to

France and Scotland, and when old Andro Bromtoft, pirate like, took the Canynges' ship of Bristol and carried her into Hilda's bay." ("Surtees's History of Durham, vol. iii. p. 101.)

Appendix C.—page 102.

"In the early times of uncorrupt simplicity, when venality was not known nor practised, it appears the parliament men had wages allowed them by their constituents, for their trouble and independent maintenance. And by an act of common council, in the time of William Canynges, mayor, 28th Henry 6th, it was ordained, that the parliament men should have two shillings, and no more, per day, for their expences. And in the year 1520, 11th Henry 8th, it was ordered by act of common council, that the burgesses serving in parliament should have twenty shillings paid them every session." (Mayor's Kalendar, quoted by Barrett, p. 146.)

"In the reigns of Henry 3d. and Edward 1st. no particular sum of expences to be allowed is mentioned in the writs, only in general that 'the community by such expences be not burdened too much,' *ultra modum haud gravetur;* but the 15th Edward 2d particular sums began to be allowed, according to the quality of the representatives. Knights, by order, had three shillings per day each; esquires, though returned for counties, had but twenty pence per day. In the 16th Edward 2d, knights had four shillings per day, esquires returned for counties, cities, or boroughs, two shillings; but 19th Edward 2d. a knight for a shire had four shillings, an esquire for a shire three shillings, and a citizen or burgess two shillings; and in the following reign, four shillings became the settled allowance for a member for a county, and two shillings for a citizen or burgess.

"These allowances seem to be very mean, but when it is considered that the value of money then was ten or twelve times (forty times at present would be nearer) what it is now, (wheat being then at 3*d* per bushel) it will appear quite otherwise." *(ibid.)*

Appendix D.—page 161.

The "Old Mansion" near Henbury church, a gabled building of

the last century, stands in the two parishes of Westbury and Henbury, and is owned by a highly respectable family of the same name as the bishop,—both being probably descended from the same ancestry.

Appendix E.—page 167.

Since these remarks went to press, the provost and fellows of Oriel College, Oxford, have resolved to raise a new monument to the memory of this worthy Bishop, upon the spot formerly occupied by that mentioned in the text. The design is an altar tomb elegantly wrought on the sides in open panels divided by appropriate buttresses, crocketted; the panels at each end are not pierced, but charged with shields bearing the arms af Bishop Carpenter and Oriel College, those of England and the see of Worcester. Upon the whole rests a costly slab of Purbeck marble, with a richly sculptured crozier in its centre; and within the recess beneath, but sufficiently exposed to view, reposes the cadaver of the Bishop, which had been removed from the old tomb to be placed within its recessed and more beautiful successor. Running round the edge of the marble slab is the following inscription in raised brass letters :—

✝ Subtus Olim S. E. Dns Johannes, Carpenter, S.T.P. Acad, Oxon, Quondam, Cancellarius, Coll, Oriel Præpos^{s}. Vigorniæ, Et, Hujus Eccliæ, XXXIII, Annos Episcopus Qui Obiit A° D NI M°CCCC°LXX°VI°. ✝ Pietatis Ergo, P. C. Præpos^{s}. Et Scholares, Oriclensis, A° D NI, M°DCCC°L°III°.

The restoration of the church alluded to in the same page, has been most satisfactorily completed, and is highly creditable to all concerned in the undertaking; but none are more deserving commendation than the able architect, John Norton, Esq. of Old Bond Street, London, and Upper Park-Street, Clifton; under whose superintendance the work was accomplished. This gentleman has shown himself worthy the trust reposed in him by the authorities who made the selection of one so well qualified to carry out a work, equally honourable to both. With increased funds Mr. Norton's genius would have wrought out a vastly more elaborate design than that

which now commands our praise: he has, however, done sufficient to excite our admiration, and both patrons and architect may recur with pleasure to the restoration of the beautiful church of Westbury-on-Trym, as one of the best, as well as one of the most important effected in modern times in the West of England.

The pulpit and font are of Painswick stone, and beautifully sculptured in the style known as Early English. The latter was the gift of Robert Phippen, of Bedminster, Esq. Two handsomely carved oak chairs for the altar were presented by Mrs. C. Ludlow Walker, of Redland. A well executed painted glass window of five lights over the chancel arch, was the work and gift of Francis Walker Savage, of Springfield, Esq. and his sisters; and a special subscription among a few of the liberal minded inhabitants of the parish provided the means for laying the rich encaustic tile pavement of the chancel; Miss George, of Downside, gave a handsomely bound set of books for the use of the Prayer desk and Communion table; Mrs. de Moleyns presented the Book of Offices; the embroidered enrichments were beautifully executed by the Misses Munro. of Druid's Stoke; Miss Ward and Miss George, of Downside, jointly worked and gave the kneeling stools and cushions, in front of the Communion rails; and Mrs. Alfred George presented the linen cloth and napkins.

Appendix F.—page 168.

The arms of Bishop Carpenter are said to have been Paly of six or and azure, on a chevron sable three cross crosslets or, in chief a mitre. In the Illustration they are given as they were delineated on his tomb, Paly of six azure and gules, on a chevron argent three cross crosslets or, in chief a mitre or.

Appendix G.—page 186.

I am surprised to find Mr. George Godwin, F.R.S., the architect employed in restoring the church, re-iterating the same statement, evidently following Dallaway. His words are (Proceedings of the Archæological Institute, 1851, p. xxxvi) "This second monument (William Canynges as a priest) was originally at Westbury, but

when that building was destroyed in 1643, the monument was removed to Redcliffe." As Mr. Godwin had just before quoted Camden's notice of Redcliffe Church, in which that writer mentions this monument as being there when he wrote, he ought to have observed that as the author of the "Britannia" died in 1623, the effigy in question could not have been removed from Westbury to Redcliffe twenty years afterwards. It is much to be regretted that such unfounded statements are made and repeated without so much as the most trifling endeavour to ascertain their correctness.

Appendix II.—page 187.

From the singular fact that neither Holland nor the writer of the Tour I have quoted, make any mention whatever of the effigy of Canynges' *wife*, it is uncertain whether they refer to the tomb in the south transept, or to one of those recently discovered in the south aisle of the nave. They could scarcely fail to note, if speaking of the former, that his wife lay by his side; and if referring to the latter, that they lay in separate niches. Dallaway says "There is a curious *tradition* concerning her (Canynges' wife) which I shall notice. She died about 1160, when the monument with effigies was placed in Redcliffe church by her husband, as a memorial of her, and of himself." This would seem to refer to the tomb in the south transept, but as the statement is given upon the authority of *tradition* only, without any corroborative evidence from other sources, it can only be received by the Reader for what he may consider it worth. If, as I have thought probable, (see page 180) the mischief to the tombs in the south aisle was perpetrated when the church was re-pewed in the reign of Queen Anne, the effigies were then removed to that in the south transept, which must have been till then unoccupied, but if it could be ascertained that their removal was effected when the church was first pewed, which was doubtless soon after the Reformation, it would prove that the tomb on which they now repose was constructed before that period, and is therefore a Middle Age monument, as it is quite certain, for reasons given in the text, that it was not originally erected to receive them.

Appendix I.—page 195.

In the bloody and disastrous wars between the rival Roses, the flower of the English nobility were cut off. The lives of three kings were sacrificed,

"Henry 6, Slayne in the Tower
Edward 5, Slayne in the same
Richard 3, at Bosworth field;"

Twelve Dukes,—

"Of Gloucester at Burye,
Of Suffolk upon the sea,
Of Sommersett at Saint Albans,
Of Yorke at Wakefield,
Of Sommersett at Hexham.
Of Sommersett at Tewkesburye,
Of Buckingham at Northampton,
Of Exeter upon the Sea,
Of Clarence in the Tower,
Of Buckingham at Salisburye,
Of Yorke in the Tower,
Of Norfolk at Bosworth field;"

One Marquis,—

"The Marques Montague at Baruet;"

Seventeen "Earles,—

"Of Northumberland at St. Albans,
Of Oxford at the Tower Hille,
Of Wiltshire at Mortimer's Cross,
Of Devonshire at Yorke,
Of Northumberland at Tawnton,
Of Devonshire at Bridgewater,
Of Rivers at Deventrie,
Of Rivers at Pomfrett,
Of Devonshire at Tewkesburye,
Of Warwick at Barnet,
Of Worcester at ye Tower Hille
Of Salisburye at Pomfrett,
Of Pembroke at Northampton,
Of Rutland at Wakefield,
Of Lincolne at Stokefield,
Of Warwick at ye Tower Hille,
Of Shrewesburye at Northampton;"

One Viscount,

"Viscount Beaumont at Northampton;"

And twenty-four Barons,

"The Lo: St. John at Tewkesburye,
Lo: Clifford at St Albans,
Lo: Clifford at Tawnton fields,
Lo: Fitzwater at Ferribrigge,
Lo: Wells at Tawnton fields.
Lo: Egremond at Northampton,
Lo: Lovell at Stokefield,
Lo: Roffe at Hexham,
Lo: Hungerford at Salisburye,
Lo: Wenlock at Tewkesburye,
Lo: Audley at Blower-heathe,
Lo: Wells at Lincolne,

Lo: Willoughbie at Stamford,
Lo: Ringemond Guy at Leicester,
Lo: Stolis at London,
Lo. Daurie at Tawnton-field,
Lo: Latimer at Banbury,
Lo: Audley at the Tower-Hille,
Lo: Hastinges in the Tower,
Lo: Fitzwater at Dalys,
Lo: Boubill at St. Albons,
Lo: Cromwell at Barnett,
Lo: Saye at Barnett,
Lo: Ferrys at Bosworth field."

All these monarchs and nobles fell at the shrine of an unworthy ambition; in addition to thousands of inferior rank, who in the space of fifty-four years, were slaughtered whilst contending for the crown of England, and the claims of rival competitors for the glittering bauble.

Appendix K.—page 198.

"On halmesse evyn, abowt thre after noyne, comyn into the Comowne Howus, the Lordys spiritual and temporal, excepte the Kyng, (Henry VI.) the Duk of York, and hys sonys; And the Chawncelor reheret the debate had betwyn owre soveren Lord the Kyng and the Duk of York upon the tytelys of Inglond, Fraunce, and the Lordschep of Erlond, wyche mater was debat, arguet, and disputet by the seyd lordes spiritual and temporal byfore owre soveren Lord and the Duk of York longe and diverse tymys. And at the last, by gret avyce and deliberacion, and by the assent of owre soveryn Lord and the Duk of York, and alle the lordes spiritual and temporal, ther assemelyd by vertu of thys present parlement, assentyt, agreyt, and acordyt, that owre sovereyne Lord the Kyng schal possabylly and quyetly rejoys and possesse the crowne of Inglond and of Fraunce, and the Lordschip of Irlond, with al hys preemynences, prerogatyves, and liberteys duryng hys lyf. And that after hys desese the coroun, etc. schal remayne to Rycharde Duk of Yorke, as rythe inheryt to hym, and to hys issue, prayng and desyring ther the comownes of Inglond, be vertu of thys present parlement assemblyt, to comyne the seyd mater, and to gyff therto her assent. The wyche comyns, after the mater debatet, comynt, grawntyt, and assentyt to the forseyd premisses. And ferthermore was granted and assentyt, that the seyd Duk of York, the Erl of March, and of Rutlond, schal

be sworne that they schuld not compas ne conspyrene the kynges deth ne hys hurt duryng hys lyf. Ferthermore the forseyd Duk schulde be had, take, and reportyt as eyr apparent prince and ryth inheryter to the crowne above seyd. Ferthermore for to be had and take tresoun to ymagyne or compas the deth or the hurt of the seyd Duk, wythe othyr prerogatyves as long to the prince and eyr parawnt. And fferthermore the seyd Duk and hys sonys schul have of the kyng yerly x. M^L^ marces, that is to sey, to hemself v. M^L^ to the Erl of Marche iij M^L^ the Erl of Rutlond ij M^L^ marces. And alle these mateyrs agreyd, assentyt, and inactyt by the auctorite of thys present parlement," &c., &c. *(Notes to Warkworth's Chronicle, p. 59.)*

The following is "The Othe of Richard Duke of Yorke," taken in accordance with the above engagement or resolution of Parliament:—

"In the name of God, Amen: I Richard Duke of Yorke, promise and sweare by the faith and truth, that I owe to almightie God, that I shall neuer consent, procure, or stir, directly or indirectly, in priuy or apart, neither (as much as in me is,) or stirred, any thing that may sound to the abridgement of the naturall life of King Henry the sixt, or to the hurt or diminishing of his raigne or dignitie royall, by violence or any otherwise, against his freedome or liberty: but if any person or persons would doe or presume any thing to the contrary, I shall with all my might and power withstand it, and make it be withstoode, as far as my power will stretch thereunto, so helpe mee God and his holy evangelists."

This oath was also taken by "Edwarde Earle of March (afterwards King Edward IV.) and Edmond Earle of Rutland, sonnes of the said Duke of Yorke." (Stow's Chronicles of England, p. 406.) The same writer adds the following:—

"Item, it is accorded, appointed and agreed, that the sayd Richard Duke of Yorke, shall be called and reputed from thencefoorth very and rightfull heire to the Crownes, royall estate, dignitie and Lordship abone said, and *after the decease* of the said King Henry, or when he will lay from him the said Crownes, estate, dignitie, and Lordship, the said Duke and his heires shall immediately

succeede to the sayde Crownes, royall estate, dignitie and Lordship."

On the 22nd of May, 1471, Henry VI. died a prisoner in the Tower of London. Richard, Duke of Gloucester, brother to King Edward, whose children he murdered, has also been charged with the murder of the unfortunate Henry; but as if to shield him from such an accusation, an old chronicler (Fleetwood,) has said that he died of "pure displeasure and melancholy." Warkworth, however, at page 21 of his Chronicle finished by him in 1473, and published by the Camden Society, says, "And the same nyghte that Kynge Edwarde came to Londone, Kynge Herry, beynge inwarde in presone in the Toure of Londone, was putt to dethe, the xxj day of Maij, on a tywesday nyght, betwyx xj and xij of the cloke, beynge thenne at the Toure the Duke of Gloucestre, brothere to Knyge Edwarde, and many other; and one the morwe he was chestyde and brought to Paulys, and his face was opyne that every manne myghte see hyme; and in hys lyinge he bledde one the pament ther; and afterward at the Blake Fryres was broughte, and ther he blede new and fresche; and from thens he was caryed to Chyrchesey abbey in a bote, and buryed there in oure Lady chapelle."

In the introduction to Warkworth, page xii, the editor quotes from a M.S. as follows:—

"Also upon ascencion evyn, Kyng Henry was brought from the tower thrugh Chepe unto Powlys upon a bere, and abowte the beere more glevys and stavys than torches; who was slayne, as it was said, by the Duke of Gloweetir; but howe he was deed (nobody knewe, but) thedir he was brought deed; and in the chirch the corps stode all nyght, and on the morue he was conveyed to Chertsey, where he was buryed." At page 66 we read that "He dyid put to silence in the Tour of London, the xxj day of May, a° 1471, buryid first at Chertesey and after at Wyndesore." The old ballad of the "Wandering Jew's Chronicle," thus versifies the death of Henry:—

"I saw the white and red rose fight,
And Warwick gret in armour bright,
In the Sixth Henries reign;

And present was that very hour,
When Henry was in London Tower,
By Crookt-backt Richard slain."

"Henry the Seventh (says the Editor) made an application to Pope Alexander the Sixth for the canonization of Henry, but his extreme penuriousness was the reason of its not being carried into effect, as he was unwilling to incur the necessary expenses."

Appendix L.—page 212.

In the address presented to Sir John Kerle Haberfield, Mayor of Bristol in 1816, on his laying the foundation stone of the restoration of the Church, April 21st in that year, it was said, "Upwards of four hundred years ago, a princely citizen of Bristol (meaning William Canynges, senior,) *erected* this church." On the same occasion Mr. Godwin, the architect, remarked (repeating Barrett) that "Simon de Burton, *founded* the church in the thirteenth century." But Mr. Britton, at the sixth anniversary banquet of the Canynges Society held at the Victoria-Rooms, Clifton, on Wednesday August 31st, 1853, gave utterance to the following remarkable confession:—"Forty years have passed away since I first examined it, (Redcliffe Church) investigated its condition, wrote an account of it, and made some animadversions on those who had it in charge. *I am now convinced that I know nothing of the subject, and that I have now to learn what I ought to have learned before I wrote.*

Appendix M.—page 217.

Of these manuscript Calendars Mr. Seyer says, in the preface to his work, Vol i. p. x, "Most of those in Bristol, but not all, *were written within the last* 200 *years;* but they are evidently derived from more ancient copies, *transcribed by various hands,* having generally a great similarity, but many particular differences. The Originals of them were probably the Registers, kept by the Religious in their Convents, particularly that kept by the Kalendaries of Christ church;

and they have been enlarged, contracted and altered according to the fancy of each Copyist." Seyer wrote in 1821.

How did Mr. Seyer know from whence these documents were derived? or that they had been "enlarged, contracted and altered according to the fancy of each Copyist?" Surely such a statement is quite sufficient to negative their authority altogether, leaving doubt upon the subject out of the question. Who is to tell in *enlarging* these manuscripts, how much was *added*; or in *contracting* them, what was *omitted*; or in *altering* them, how far the fancy of the Copyist" *destroyed the meaning of the originals?*

Appendix N.—page 223.

"There are models for the draughtsman, an involved history to exercise the ingenuity of the investigator, and a peculiarity in the arrangement of the work of different periods at the West End, which increase the difficulty of the disentanglement."

GEORGE GODWIN, F.R.S.

Appendix O.—page 223.

"The inner north porch and lower part of the tower are Early English in style, and might be earlier than Simon de Burton: they certainly are not later." *(ibid.)*

(Proceedings of the Archæological Institute, 1851, *p* xxxv.)

Appendix P.—page 225.

"The remarks of Mr. Britton cited in the text, were published in 1813. In "An Appeal for the restoration of St. Mary Redcliffe," written by that gentleman, and dated October 31st, 1842, he says at page 56, "the vestibule, (inner north porch) is of a date between A.D. 1200 and 1230."

Appendix Q.—page 238.

"About the middle of the cross aisle was buried Everard le Fraunces. Over him is a plain tomb, with his figure in the robes of

a magistrate, and formerly the following inscriptions:—"Hic jacet Everardus le French, qui in hac ecclesia duas fundavit cantarias et duas alias in ecclesiæ St. Nicholai, et fuit ter maior hujus villæ cujus animæ propitietur Deus, Amen. M,CCCL." *(Barrett p. 583.)*

Everard le Fraunces was Bailiff of Bristol in 1323; Mayor in 1331, 1336, and 1339; and represented the town in Parliament in 1337, 1338, 1339, 1347, and 1348. He was a great friend to St. Mary Redcliffe church, in which he founded two chantries, to which William Canynges, junr. subsequently became a benefactor. *(Ibid.)*

The family to which Everard le Fraunces belonged was of considerable note both in Bristol and elsewhere. Like that of Canynges, the name is variously spelt,—le Fraunces, le Francis, le Frances, Fraunceys, de Fraunceys, and le Fraunceys. Rogerus Fraunceys in 1299; Galfridus Fraunceys in 1317; Nicholaus Fraunceys in 1333; and Johannes Fraunceys in 1379, were either priests or secular clergymen in various parts of the county of Wilts. Several of the family filled the chair of chief magistrate of Bristol between the years 1232 and 1339. Others represented the old town in parliament or occupied offices in connection with its civic government until 1348, when the name altogether disappears in connection with Bristol—the above Everard le Fraunces being the last recognized upon the record. A sepulchral brass is to be seen in the church of Combe Flory, Somersetshire, to the memory of Nicholas Fraunces, who is represented in armour, with the date of 1526, but whether of this family or not I do not undertake to say; and Henry Fraunceys was Master of the Hospital of the Holy Trinity, Bridgenorth, in the fifteenth century.

Appendix R.—page 238.

"The north porch [exterior] and the upper part of tower, are of the Decorated period, and *may* have formed part of Burton's church."

GEORGE GODWIN, F.R.S.

Appendix S.—page 245.

"The south transept, the south porch, and much of the interior, may be attributed to the first William Canynges." *(Ibid.)*

Appendix T.—page 218.

"As a parochial christian temple it is acknowledged to rank, if not the first, at least in the first class among the many fine sacred edifices of our country. As compared with the cathedral and conventual churches of England, it surpasses most in symmetry of design, —in harmony and unity of character,—in rich and elaborate adornments,—in the picturesque composition of exterior forms and parts, and in the fascinating combination of clustered pillars, mullioned windows, panelled walls, and groin-ribbed ceilings of the interior. I know of no building, to compare with it in all these features, in Great Britain; and I feel assured that there is none superior in graceful design and beauty of detail in all civilized Europe."

JOHN BRITTON, F.S.A.

Appendix U.—page 255.

"The groined vaulting of the south aisle of the nave is inferior in character, and more recent in date than the vaulting of other parts of the church. If we knew this to be part of the reinstatements made by the second Canynges after the fall of the spire, the inference would be that he built less of the structure than has been supposed."

GEORGE GODWIN, F.R.S.

Appendix V.—page 259.

"Doubts have been expressed as to the extent to which Burton and the first Canynges personally contributed; but there seems to be no question about the fact, that to the second William Canynges the church was greatly indebted: so much so, that he is popularly, though *erroneously* known as the founder." *(ibid.)*

Appendix W.—page 260.

"His obiit was yearly celebrated, for which in 1475 there is charged in the annual account:

For our Master William Canynges obiit at Lammas-day as the composition specyfyeth	2 17 0

Paid for our Master William Canynges years mynde	2	11	8
At his days' requiem	0	17	0
For the holy cake for 52 sundays, wax 5d. per sunday	2	7	8
To Sir Thomas Hawkysoke for his year's wages	6	13	4
To Sir Perse Welles for his year's wages	6	13	4"

The two individuals here mentioned were evidently Canynges' priests who officiated.

Appendix X.—page 260.

The reader will perceive that the Will of William Canynges, junior, could not be introduced entire in the text without destroying the connection of the narrative; I have therefore judged it advisable to quote only such portions as related to the subject in hand. Many latin phrases occur in each of the wills cited in this work which are obsolete, and hard to be deciphered by modern linguists; they are, however, given as they stand in the originals; which are now for the first time placed without abridgment before the public.

Appendix Y.—page 272.

At a meeting of the Architectural Section of the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, held in the Chapter-room of Bristol Cathedral, August 5th, 1851, I read a paper entitled "When, and by whom, was the Church of St. Mary Redcliffe built?" in which the same opinions were advanced as those contained in the present work. At the close of the reading, the Chairman, in moving a vote of thanks, observed that "one of the greatest benefits resulting from the visits of the Institute to various places was, that it brought together antiquaries whose local knowledge could be combined and compared with that which the Institute gathered in other parts of the country. There could be no difference of opinion as to the exceeding research and acuteness displayed throughout the whole of Mr. Pryce's very interesting paper. At first sight it might have an invidious appearance, inasmuch as it sought to deprive an individual of honour which he had been accustomed to receive. But, as had been remarked, they should endeavour to ascertain truth, for facts

often overthrew pre-conceived opinions. He was not sure, when he considered further of it, that the paper even had the invidious aspect that he had supposed. It was much more honourable to the city that age after age it should have produced a succession of men who should gradually have erected such a magnificent building, than if it had been the work of only one of its sons. He believed it was too much the tendency of individuals, in their antiquarian researches, to attribute the erection of a cathedral to a reigning bishop, and of parish churches to a single great peer or merchant. He did not wish to detract from the merit due to William Canynges, and from all that had been handed down relative to his character, he did not believe that Canynges would desire to arrogate more honour than properly belonged to him."

Appendix Z.—page 278.

I follow Mr. Dix in this statement; but Mrs. Edkins, whose name subsequently occurs in the narrative, says that she went to school to Chatterton's father, and that she was there when the poet was born at Pyle-Street School. Mrs. Chatterton afterwards removed, says the same authority, "to a house opposite the upper gate on Redcliffe Hill."—that is, to the house spoken of in the text.

Appendix AA.—page 286.

"Barrett's History and Antiquities of Bristol," says Mr. Britton, "contains some useful and valuable matter, though interspersed with too much of an apochryphal character to be altogether confided in. The author was engaged upon his work when that precocious and original boy-poet, Chatterton, was exercising his memory and fancy in writing poems under the assumed name of Rowley, the mediæval priest, and aiming to imitate the language of a remote age. Some of his compositions were communicated to Mr. Barrett, who, credulously trusting to their authenticity, inserted them as genuine historical documents. Hence his judgement was impeached, and his volume depreciated." Mr. Barrett himself informs us (Bristol Memorialist, p. 78,) that "Mr. Alexander Morgan, about the year 1750, became a very labourious collector, from the records and old books in the several Vestries as well as the Chamber of Bristol,

transcribing many Latin Deeds (which alone made two large volumes in folio close wrote) and this with the greatest exactness and fidelity. Upon his death all these papers fell into my (Barrett's) hands by purchase, merely to prevent what had been collected with so much toil and industry from being lost." Barrett subsequently says that "meeting in his researches afterwards with other manuscripts" (Chatterton's &c.,) so much was "added to the large store already amassed," that he was enabled to finish the work upon which he had been so long engaged. Upon the completion of his labours, Mr. Thistlethwaite, one of Chatterton's early friends thus satirizes the author:—

> "Next Barrett came, of Hist'ry dubb'd the Quack,
> Old Morgan's rotten papers at his back;
> Press'd by the load, which, with unceasing pains,
> Full twenty years employ'd his aching brains."

The truth is, Barrett never was an antiquary; and not being imbued with the true spirit of one, he was unfitted for the laborious task he undertook.

Appendix BB.—page 294.

The estimable author of this letter died at Firfield early in the present year, and his friend, Mr. Cumberland deceased also in Bristol a few years before him. Mr. Cottle was an ardent admirer of the genius of poor Chatterton, whose life he wrote in conjunction with Southey. The names of both these gentlemen will ever be associated with those of Coleridge and Wordsworth, with whom they were on terms of the strictest friendship.

Appendix CC.—page 295.

The advertisement in the public papers requesting subscriptions was as follows:—

"A few Gentlemen of Bristol, admirers of the Genius of Chatterton, and desirous of enriching the City of his birth with a memorial of his literary fame, have formed themselves into a Committee for the purpose of erecting a Monument to his memory in the Church of St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol, or in some other appropriate situation.

There is no Stone or Tablet within the walls of Bristol to tell the Stranger of one of her most highly gifted Sons, or to recall the memory of his genius to the present generation—the effort now being made to supply this Memorial, will, it is hoped, be successful; but as the fame of Chatterton is a national possession, Contributions are invited from all who have sympathized in the misfortunes and trials of the youthful Poet, and who can feel it a pleasure to join in paying a tribute of admiration and regret at the shrine of neglected genius."

Then follows the names of gentlemen to whom subscriptions might be paid, &c.

The erection of this monument was accomplished chiefly through the instrumentality of Christopher George, and the late Charles Bowles Fripp, Esquires, at a cost of about £100.

Appendix DD.—page 297.

It is much to be regretted that the quotation from Dr. Young, however excellent in itself, should have been placed on this monument: this, however, the pertinacity of a lately deceased official peremptorily insisted on, as the only condition upon which he would consent to the erection of the memorial at all in the place chosen for its site. The following extract from a letter addressed by a gentleman of this city (since dead) who was a well-known admirer of Chatterton, to a talented Authoress, the wife of one of our greatest modern poets, will better explain the matter than anything I can say upon the subject; it will at the same time show what unexpected difficulties arose in carrying out this most simple undertaking. Happily, the steady perseverance of the friends to the erection prevailed, in a great degree, over the dogged perversity of clerical intolerance, and if they did not obtain all they asked for on behalf of others, they at least procured for themselves the best thanks of the generous-hearted admirers of the object of their solicitude—a satisfaction not enjoyed by those who in the exercise of a power deposited with them in virtue of their office, refused to grant a reasonable request made by gentlemen whose disinterestedness is deserving of all praise.

"Bristol, 25th November, 1839,

"Madam,

"After many abortive efforts we have at length succeeded in getting funds to erect a monument in memory of that ill-starred Genius, Chatterton. Many months ago I ventured to petition—— ———— (the husband of the Authoress above referred to,) for an inscription but could not succeed, as his views seemed rather adverse to such a memorial. (The gentleman alluded to objecting because the erection was to be on *consecrated* ground!) On this point I am prepared to find opinions differ, even among those who most admire the Poet's Genius; but as the Monument is now being erected, I think it may rather give him pleasure to see the design and inscription adopted. As to the *former* I think you will agree that it does credit to the taste of the Architect, who has given an earlier proof of his ability in designing Bishop Butler's and some other monuments here. The inscription is from the pen of——— ————, (a well known and accomplished Clergyman and Scholar, residing in Bristol,) and considering the difficulty of this kind of composition, it may be doubted if out of 20 inscriptions, any one would have been unanimously preferred, and it is kind of ——————— to have undertaken what many from one cause and another, have declined. Judge then of the taste and gratitude of a certain Vicar of————, who modestly proposes the *excision* of the 3rd, 4th, 5th and 6th lines, the *abscission* of the *last*, and the *addition* of ten lines in blank verse from Young's Night Thoughts! Is it a wonder that some heretics doubt of the "Apostolical succession," if gifts like these are inherited? I could only pacify this heartless critic by offering to put Young's lines in a separate tablet as an equivalent for preserving the inscription intact!"

"To ———— (Signed) ————

The Reader will observe that the names of the persons spoken of in this letter, and who are known to me, are purposely omitted, lest the mention of them should convey pain to the minds of others.

John Wright, Steam Press, Bristol.

2960